KASI THROUGH THE AGES

Rajendra Pandey

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To
My Father and Mother

Ye dhamma hetuppabhava tesam hetum Tathagato aha.
Tesam ca yo nirodho ye vamvadi Mahasamano.
—Vinaya Pitakam-Mahavaggo

FOREWORD

This book on 'Kasi through the Ages' written by Dr. Rajendra Pandey presents many glimpses of the city of Varanasi and the region. Kasi or Varanasi holds a very high place in the esteem of all Indians from very early days. The reference to Kasi or the river Varanavat in the *Atharvaveda* cited by the author indicates the earliest date for its existence is more or less sustained by the archaeological excavations conducted by the Banaras Hindu University.

According to Jain literature, the author has shown, the Tirthankara Parsavnatha was born in Banaras about 817 B.C. According to the *Mahābhārata* Krishna defeated the kings of Kasi and also destroyed the city though it was rebuilt again. Kasi, however, is shown as one of the 16 *Mahājanapadas* about the time of Buddha but the political glory of Kasi collapsed with its inclusion first in the kingdom of Kosala and later in the Magadhan empire. The chapter on Economic Life presents vignettes of many of the crafts and industries for which Kasi is famous till today, namely, silk weaving and gold ornaments. The chapter on Education shows Kasi as an important centre of education in the times of Buddha along with Takshasila.

The author has dealt with the religious life of Varanasi as well as the archaeological remains. The book, though primarily based on literary evidence, will, it is hoped, provide interest in the history of Varanasi in all its aspects.

20-8-1979

S/d. N.R. Banerjee
N. R. BANERJEE
(Director)

FOREWORD

This book on 'Kasi Through the Ages' written by [illegible] Prasad presents many glimpses of the glory of Varanasi and the region. Kasi or Varanasi holds a very high place in the esteem of all Indians from very early times. The reference to Kasi in the [illegible] of the Atharvaveda cited by the author indicates the earliest date for its existence, more so as confirmed by the archaeological excavations conducted by the Banaras Hindu University.

According to Jain tradition, the author has shown, the Chakravarti Brahmadatta was born in Kasi about 877 B.C. According to the Mahabharata, Bhima conquered the kings of Kasi and also destroyed the city though it was rebuilt again. Kasi, however, is shown as one of the 16 Mahajanapadas [illegible] but the political entity of Kasi [illegible] it in the Kingdom of Kosala and later in the Magadha empire. The chapter on Economic Life presents glimpses of many of the crafts and industries for which Kasi has been famous like silk weaving and gold ornaments. The chapter on Education shows Kasi an important centre of education in the times of Buddha along with Taxasila.

The author has dealt with the religious life of Varanasi as well as the archaeological remains. The book, though primarily based on literary evidence, will [illegible] interest [illegible] of the history of Varanasi and its region.

20-2-1979.

[illegible]
[illegible]
Director

PREFACE

Kasi has a greater antiquity, continuity of its history as also veneration than other metropolises in the western world. It has a firm and an unbroken tradition of religious sanctity and learning for the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains alike. It is here where numerous Hindu sects have flourished for centuries, and have embraced the principles of Buddhism as declared by the venerable *Sakyamuni Gautama*, the Buddha. The importance of Kasi also was on account of the birth of Arhata Parsva. Naturally it became the seat of learning and Buddhist theology, which attracted the scholars from the continental countries. It is at kasi, where Buddha preached the first sermon on Buddhism for the enlightment of the people of world.

Even before Buddha Kasi was recognised as one of the sixteen *Mahajanapadas* of the countries. History tells us that even from the earliest times Kasi was a centre of political and cultural activities. The old town of Kasi lay on the main trade routes going towards east and west. It developed a number of arts and crafts and came to be counted among the few prosperous cities of northern India.

The early Indian literature is full of interesting reference to Kasi. It is mentioned as a centre of learning and fine arts. The main religions of the country made Kasi and the region around, as their centre for the development of their respective sects. Largely based on the authoritative Pali sources the book furnishes a ready material for a deep and comprehensive study on this holy city of Ancient Indian History.

In this book we have dealt with the early history of this fascinating culture-centre. The book also contains relevant data throwing light on the social, religions and economic conditions of the Kasi janapada. we have also studied Kasi as a seat of learning and as a place of archaeological interest. The work is adequately documented in such a manner that it will be found interesting and useful to the specialist as well as the general reader.

While doing the work the author received valuable guidance from Dr. S. D. Singh, Professor, Queensland University, Bvisbane, Australia. To begin with Dr. R. K. Dikshit, formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow, deserves author's utmost sense of gratitude for initiating the subject. To Dr. Abinash Chandra, Lecturer, Lucknow University, Lucknow, the author can never be adequately thankful since he went through the entire manuscript and gave valuable suggestions. I shall fail in my duty if I do not express here my gratefulness to Drs. P. N. Bajpeyi, Mohd. Akhtar Khan and Amitabh Pandey who helped me in completing this work.

For the publication of this work author's best thanks are due to Smt. Dr. Vinodini Pandey, whose keen interest in the work made her do every thing to arrange the preliminaries of publication. To Dr. N. R. Banerjee, Director, National Museum, New Delhi and distinguished Indian Archaeologist, the author is extremely thankful for writing his foreword. Lastely this preface cannot be closed without a word of thanks to Dr. V. P. Dwivedi, Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi, for his help in piloting the work through the press.

Buddha Purnima
Hardoi (U.P.)
12-5-1979

Rajendra Pandey

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN BIBLIOGRAPHY*

A.A.	—Monoratthapurani, *Anguttara commentary*, (S.H.B.)
Ang.	—*Anguttara Nikaya* (P.T.S), London, 1885—1900.
A.G.I.	—Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (Ed. Majumdar), Calcutta, 1924.
Atharva Veda	—Translated by R.T.H. Griffith, Banaras, 1897.
A.I.N.	—*Ancient Indian Numismetics* (C.L. 1921).
Arth.	—*Arthasastra* tr. (Shama Shastri), Mysore, 1908.
Altekar	—Altekar, A.S., *History of Banaras*, Banaras, 1937.
A.I.H.T.	—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by Pargiter, F.E., London, 1922.
Bu.	—*Buddhavamsa*, (P.T.S.)
BuA.	—*Buddhavamsa Commentary*, (S.H.B.)
Beal	—Beal's *Records of the Western World*, (Kegan Paul).
Baudh.Sr.Su.	—*Baudhayana Srauta Sutra.*
Brh. Upan.	—*Brhdaranyaka Upanisad.*
Brahma P.	—*Brahma Purana.*
Bhavīsya P.	—*Bhavisya Purana.*

*This constitutes complete bibliography of the books referred to in the text.

Barua	—Barua, B.M., *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1935.
Barua & Sinha	—*Barhut Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1926.
Buddhistic Studies	—Ed. by Law, B.C., Calcutta, 1931.
Bhandarkar	—Bhandarkar, D.R., *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, Calcutta, 1918.
Br.	—*Brahmana.*
C.H.I.	—*Cambridge History of India* (Indian Reprint, 1955).
Cowell	—Cowell., E.B., (Tr.) *Jataka*, Cambridge, 1895—1913.
C.L.	—*Carmichael Lectures*—1918 (By D. R. Bhandarkar).
Comm.	—*Commentary.*
Dial.	—*Dialogues of the Buddha* (Oxford).
Divya.	—*Divyavadana* (S.B.B.), London.
Digha.	—*Digha Nikaya* (P.T.S.)
Dha.	—*Dhammapada Commentary* (P.T.S.)
Dipavamsa	—Ed. by Oldenberg (William & Norgate).
Dhamm.	—*Dhammapada* (S.B.E.), Oxford, 1898.
Fick	—Fick, Richard, *The Social Organisation in N.E. India*, Calcutta, 1920.
Fausboll	—Tr. *Jatáka* (London), 1877—97.
Gopatha Br.	—*Gopatha Brahman* (Ed. Mitra R.L., Bibleothica Series).
Hardy	—Hardy, R. Spense, *Manual of Buddhism*, 1860.
Harivamsa	
I.H.Q.	—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
J.	—*Jataka.*
Jain	—Jain, J.C., *Life in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1947.

J.R.E.S.	—*Journal of the Royal Economic Society.*
J.A.S.B.	—*Journal of Asiatic Society, Bengal.*
J.B.O.R.	—*Journal of Bhandarkar Oriental Research,* Poona.
J.O.R.	—*Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras.
J.R.A.S.	—*Journal af Royal Asiatic Society,* London.
J.P.T.S.	—*Journal of Pali Text Society.*
J.I.H.	—*Journal of Indian History,* Trivandrum.
J.M.P.H.S.	—*Journal of Madhya Pradesh Historical Society.*
Kurma P.	—*Kurma Purana.*
Lalita.	—*Lalitavistara,* ed. Lefmann, S.
Law.	—Law, B.C., *Some Jaina Canonical Sutras.*
Majjh.	—*Majjhima Nikaya* (P.T.S.), London.
Mbh.	—*Mahabharata.* Tr. Dutta, M.N., Calcutta, 1903 and Roy P.C.
Mahavagga	—*Vinaya Text*—Oldenberg.
Mahavamsa	—English Translation—Geiger, W. (P.T.S.).
Manu	—*Manava Dharma-Sastra,* ed. by Jolly, London, 1887.
Mil. Panh.	—*Milinda Panha* (S.B.E.), Oxford, 1890—94.
Matsya	—*Matsya Purana,* ed. Janardanacharya, Vale, Poona, 1870—4.
Mahavamsa Tika	—P.T.S., London.
Mahavastu	—Senart. edition.
Oldenberg	—Oldenberg—*Life of Buddha.*
P.	—*Purana.*
Padma	—*Padma Purana.*
P.H.A.I.	—*Political History of Ancient India,* by Raychaudhuri, Calcutta, 1932.

Pv.	—*Petavatthu* (P.T.S.), London.
Pran Nath	—*Economic Condition of Ancient India*, 1929.
PvA.	—*Petavatthu Commentary.*
Pargiter	—*Dynesties of Kali Age.*
P.S.M. Commn.	—*Papanca Sudani Majjhima*, Commentary Aluvihara Series, Colombo.
Rati Lal Mehta	—*Pre-Buddhist India*, Bombay, 1939.
Rhys. Davids	—*Buddhist India*, London, 1917.
R.E.	—Rock Edict.
Ram.	—*Ramayana.*
Rahul Sankratyana	—*Puratatva Nibandhavali.*
S.B.E.	—*Sacred Books of the East.*
Sam.	—*Samyutta Nikaya* (P.T.S.).
Sumangala	—*Sumangala Vilasini* (P.T.S.).
Samant.	—*Samantapasadika* (P.T.S.).
S.P.	—*Saratthapakasini* (P.T.S.).
Sutta.	—*Sutta Nipata* (P.T.S.).
Sutta, A.	—*Sutta Nipata Commentary* (P.T.S.).
Sank Sr. Su.	—*Sankhayana Srauta Sutra.*
Satapatha Br.	—*Satapatha Brahmana* (S.B.E.).
Skanda P.	—*Skanda Purana.*
Senart.	—Senart, Emile, *Caste in India.*
Stevention	—*Heart of Jainism.*
Thig.	—*Therigatha*, P.T.S., London, 1883.
U.	—*Udana*, (P.T.S.).
UA.	—*Udana Commentary* (P.T.S.).
Uvasaga	—Uvasagadasao (Hornle ed.), Calcutta, 1888–90.
Vinaya	—*Vinaya Pitaka*, Oldenberg, London, 1879–83 and S.B.E., Oxford.
Vayu P.	—*Vayu Purana.*
Visnu P.	—*Visnu Purana.*
Vedic Index	—Macdonell and Keith, 1912.
Weber	—Weber, *Indische studien.*

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GEOGRAPHY

—Geographical Boundary of Kasi Janapada
—Some Important Places in Kasi Kingdom

CHAPTER I

Geography*

THE KINGDOM of Kasi which now corresponds to the modern city of Varanasi or Banaras and the surrounding area, was once counted amongst the most powerful states (*mahajanapada*)[1] of ancient India. Ancient Indian texts have preserved abundant information about Kasi, a peep into which would reveal the glorious days of its rulers and the high prestige that they often enjoyed from the period that synchronised with the gradual dis-integration of the Videhan monarchy.

Geographical Boundry of Kasi Janapada

Kasi, which was an imperial power in the pre-Buddhist times, was bordered by Vatsa on the west, Kosala on the north and Magadha on the east.[2]

The exact boundary of the kingdom of Kasi can hardly be correctly demarcated as it shifted at different periods, sometimes acquiring more adjoining parts under its rulers and sometimes losing territorial jurisdiction over certain regions. In the Brahmana period, however, Kasi formed one of the realms of the *Prachi disi* (Eastern Quarter), as it is excluded from the *Madhyadesa* even by Manu who makes Prayaga the eastern boundary of that region. It is in comparatively recent times that this famous place came to be included within the *Madhyadesa* as we learn from the *Kavyamimamsa*.

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*Kasi Geography has been published in J.M.P.H S. No. 4,

[1] Ang., Vol. I, p. 213, Vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.

[2] C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 282,

In the *Jatakas*, the extent of the Kasi kingdom is given as three hundred leagues.[1] Therefore, it might possibly have included the regions covered by the modern districts of Varanasi, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and many parts of Ghazipur, as suggested by a certain scholar.[2]

The kingdom of Kasi in ancient times embraced an extensive dominion and the necessities of administration led to the change of capital from time to time. According to the majority of texts, the capital of Kasi was Baranasi.[3] But, at the same time of Asoka, the capital was Potali.[4] Similarly, in the time of Udayabhadda, the seat of government was in Surundha.[5] The absence of a permanent capital city during these days probably indicates that the rulers of these cities of Kasi were pursuing a policy of conquest and annexation.

Some Important Places in Kasi Kingdom

Baranasi : It was the capital city of Kasi which, according to the *Jatakas* was the chief city in all India.[6] The name Varanasi or Baranasi is derived from the joint name of the two streams Barna and Asi in the north and the south of the city. From the joint name of these two streams the Brahmanas derive Baranasi or Varanasi which is said to be the Sanskrit form of the name of Banaras.[7] Varanasi was known in ancient times by different names which it acquired in previous ages,[8] like *Surundhana*[9] *Sudarsana*,[10] *Brahmavaddhara*[11] Pupphavati,[12] Ramanagara,[13] and

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1. Fausboll, V, p. 41; III, pp. 304, 391.
2. Rahul Sanskrityayana, 'Puratattva Nibandhavali', p. 18.
3. Fausboll, IV, pp. 15,199; Dial. Pt. III, p. 73 and cf. Law, pp. 174-5.
4. Fausboll, III, p. 155.
5. Ibid., IV. pp. 104 cf.
6. Ibid., I. p. 262; II. p. 250; IV, p. 245.
7. A.G.I., p. 500.
8. Dial. Part III, p. 73.
9. Fausboll, IV, p. 104.
10. Ibid., IV, p. 119; V, p. 117.
11. Ibid., IV, p. 119; V, p. 312.
12. Ibid., VI, p. 131.
13. Ibid., IV, pp. 119, 126 etc.

Molini.[1] Varanasi is also called Kasipura.[2] In the *Cakkavatti-Sihanada Suttanta* of the *Digha Nikaya*, we are told that "in the time of Metteya Buddha, *Baranasi* will be known as Ketumati, mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowned and well fed. Among such humans in this India there will be 84,000 towns, with Ketumati the royal city at their head. Sankha will be a king at Ketumati, the royal city, and will rule in righteousness, and will be the lord of the four quarters, conqueror, protector of his people. He will live in supremacy over this earth to its ocean bounds, having conquered it not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness".[3]

According to Rhys Davids, the city proper included the land between the Barna and a stream called the Asi, as its name suggests. He further remarks that the city might have included the suburbs at the time when it was the capital of an independent kingdom and thus extended over twelve leagues, or about eighty-five miles.[4] According to the *Jatakas*, the city extended over twelve *Yojanas*.[5]

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Macchikasanda : It was a township in Kasi. One of its residents was Cittagahapati.[6] It contained the Ambatakavana, which Citta presented as a monastery for Mahanama and his fellow monks. Here also lived Sudhamma Thera and the place was visited by Acela Kassapa[7] and the famous Sariputta and Moggallana.[8] The *Vinaya Pitaka*,[9] however, informs us that the last two persons were accompanied by Mahakaccana, Mahakotthika, Mahakappina, Mahacunda, Anuruddha, Revatae, Upali, Ananda and Rahula. They all went there while travelling in the Kasi Kingdom.

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[1] Fausboll, IV, p. 15.
[2] Ibid., V, p. 54; VI, p. 165; DhA., I, p. 87.
[3] Dial. Pt. III, p. 72f. Digha. III., 75.
[4] Rhys Davids, p. 18; VIII Ed., Calcutta, 1959.
[5] Fausboll, VI, p. 160; IV, p. 377; Majjh. Comm., II, p. 608.
[6] Sam., IV, 281.
[7] DhA., II, p. 74f.
[8] Sam., IV, 300.
[9] Vinaya, II, p. 15f.

This place must also have been a centre of the Niganthas, for Nigantha Nataputta is mentioned as having gone there with a large following.[1] This place is stated to be thirty leagues from Savatthi,[2] and nearby was the village Migapathaka.

Migapathaka : It is the name of a village near Macchikasanda behind Ambatakavana. It was a tributary village of Cittagahapati.[3]

Cundatthila : It was a village near Banaras, situated on the other side of the river and between Vasabhagama and Banaras.[4]

Vasabhagama : It was the name of a village in Kasi which was once the residence of Kassapa Thera.[5] Beyond this village was another, called Cundatthila, between Vasabhagama and Banaras.[6]

Kitagiri : It was a village of Kasi, situated on the road from Kasi to Savatthi. It was the headquarters of the followers of Assaji and Punabbasu, who lived there behaving in a shameless and wicked manner. A certain monk on his way to Jetavana, passed through the place and was asked by a pious layman to complain to the Buddha of their misbehaviour. On hearing of it, the Buddha sent Sariputta and Moggallana with instructions to banish the offenders.[7] Sometime later, when the Buddha visited the place with a large company of monks, including Sariputta and Moggallana the Assaji-Punabbasukas were asked to provide lodgings for the visitors. They agreed to do so for the Buddha, but would have nothing to do with Sariputta and Moggallana.[8]

According to Buddhaghosa,[9] Kitagiri was the name of a *nigama* (township). In the *Samantapasadika*,[10] it is called a

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1. Sam., IV, 298.
2. DhA., II, 79.
3. Sam., IV, 281, SP, Sam. Comm., III,93.
4. Pv., III, 1; PvA., 168, 170; Mahavasth, III, 325, 327.
5. Vinaya, I, 312f.
6. Pv. III. 1; PvA., 168, 170.
7. Fausboll, II, 387; Vinaya, II, 9f; III, 179f; DhA. II, 108f.
8. Vinaya, II, 171.
9. P.S. Comm., II, 668.
10. Samant., III, 613f.

Janapada favoured by adequate rain and fruitful crops, and therefore chosen by the Assaji-Punabbasukas.

Isipatana : It was the site of the famous Migadaya or Deer Park near Banaras, eighteen leagues away from Uruvela. We are informed that the Pancavaggiya monks went to Isipatana after leaving Gautama, when he gave up his austere penances.[1] After his enlightenment, the Buddha, leaving Uruvela, joined these monks in Isipatana, where he preached his first sermon (*Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta*) on the full-moon day of Asalha.[2] It was here that the Buddha spent his first rainy season.[3]

The Buddhists attached much sanctity to this place because "all the Buddhas preach their sermon at the Migadaya in Isipatana; it is one of the four *avijahititthanani* (unchanging spots), the others being the *bodhi-pallanka*, the spot at the gate of Sankasa, where the Buddha first touches the earth on his return from *Tavatimsa* (heaven) and the site of his bed in the Gandhakuti in Jetavana.[4] In the *Digha Nikaya* we are told that the Buddha himself mentions this spot as one of the four places of pilgrimage which his devout followers should visit.[5] Besides, in the Buddhist texts, Isipatana is closely associated with *Pacceka* Buddhas who are said to have descended on earth there.[6] It also witnessed many scenes connected with the life of the Buddha, besides the preaching of the first sermon. While the Buddha was staying here, Yasa one day came to him at dawn and became an arahant.[7]

According to the *Udapana Jataka*,[8] there was a very ancient well near Isipatana which, in the Buddha's time, was used by the monks living there.

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1. Fausboll, I, 68.
2. Vinaya, I, 10f.
3. BuA, p. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 247; Sumangala, II, 424.
5. Digha., II, 141.
6. P.S.M. Comm. I, 387.
7. Vinaya, I, 15f.
8. Fausboll, II, p. 354 ff.

Isipatana, in the past, sometimes retained its own name;[1] but more often it was known by different names. Thus, in Vipassi's time it was known as Khemavyyana. It became a monastic centre in the Buddha's time and continued to be so for a long time. From these, according to the *Mahavamsa* twelve thousand monks came under the leadership of Dhammasena to be present at the foundation ceremony of the Maha Thupa.[2] This evidence is sufficient to indicate that even after the disintegration of the mighty power of the Kasis, Isipatana did not lose its significance but continued to attract the attention of the Buddhist followers even in the second century B.C.

The Divyavadana[3] mentions Asoka as intimating to Upagupta his desire to visit the places connected with the Buddha's activities, and to erect thupas there. His visit to certain places including Isipatana and Migadaya is confirmed by his lithic records.[4]

In the seventh century A.D. Hiuen T'sang found fifteen hundred monks studying at Isipatana. In the enclosure of the Sangharama was a vihara about two hundred feet high, strongly built, its roof surmounted by a golden figure of the mango. In the centre of the vihara was a life-size statue of the Buddha turning the wheel of the Law. To the south-west were the remains of a stone stupa built by Asoka. In front of it was a stone pillar to mark the spot where the Buddha preached his first sermon. Nearby was another stupa on the site where the *Pancavaggiyas* spent their time in meditation before the Buddha's arrival, and another where five hundred *Pacceka Buddhas* entered Nibbana. Close to it was another building where 'the future Buddha Metteyya received assurançe of his becoming a Buddha.[5]

Dhammapala : It is the name of a village in Kasi which was known after the name of one Dhammapala whose family (*kula*) used to live there.[6]

1. Bu., XIX, 18; BuA., 182, 218.
2. Mahavamsa, XXIX, 31.
3. Divya, pp. 389-94.
4. e.g., R.E. VIII.
5. See Beal, II, 45 ff.
6. Fausboll, IV, p. 50.

Khemiyambavana : It was a mango grove near Banaras where Udena once stayed and preached the *Ghotamukha Sutta.*[1]

Ambatakavana : It was a grove at Macchikasanda which belonged to Cittagahapati. Being pleased with the Elder Mahanama of Macchikasanda, Citta invited him to a meal and after listening to his discourse, gave the grove to the Order. We are told that at the dedication of the gift the earth trembled.[2] Later he built a splendid monastery there, the Ambatakarma, for the use of monks from all quarters.[3] In due course of time it became the residence of large numbers of monks, and discussions often took place there between Cittagahapati and the resident Bhikkhus.[4]

Among the eminent Elders who visited the place were Isidatta of Avanti,[5] Mahaka,[6] Kamabhu[7] and Godatta.[8] The Elder Lakuntaka Bhaddiya also lived there in solitude, wrapt in meditation.[9]

[1] Majjh., II, 157.
[2] DhA. II, 74 and AA. I, 209.
[3] AA. I, 209 and DhA. II, 74.
[4] Sam, (P.T.S.), IV, 281-97.
[5] Sam. IV, 283-8.
[6] Ibid., 288-91.
[7] Ibid., 291-5.
[8] Ibid., 295-7.
[9] Thig. V, 466.

POLITICAL HISTORY

—Kasi in Early Literature
—Kasi and Videha
—Rise of Kasi
—Kasi Imperialism
—Kasi & Kosala
—Expansion of Kasi Kingdom
—Eclipse of Kasi's Glory

CHAPTER II

Political History

Kasi in Early Literature

LIKE OTHER states in ancient India, Kasi was also known after the name of its people, the Kasis who are mentioned as early as the *Atharva Veda*.[1] Their close connection with the Kosalas and the Videhas is well attested by the Vedic texts; for example, the *Sankhayana Srauta Sutra* mentions a common priest named Jala Jatukarnya of the people of Kasi, Kosala and Videha, in the days of Svetaketu, who was a contemporary of Janaka.[2] The *Baudhayana Srauta Sutra* also refers to the close proximity of Kasi and Videha and tells us that Ayu, the son of Pururava, renounced the wordly life and wandered in the countries of Kasi, Kuru and Pancala.[3] This probably leads Weber to infer that the Kasis and the Videhas together constitute the Usinaras, whose name is very rare in Vedic literature.[4]

The Kasis and Videhas were closely connected on account of their being conterminous states and also in view of their geographical position. The *Kausitaki Upanisad*, thus, mentions them together as a compound name.[5] It is probably due to their close relations that Ajatasatru is described as either a Kasi or a Videha king by Gargi in the *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*.[6]

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1. V. 22. 14. cf. Vedic Index, II, p. 116n.
2. Sank. Sr. Su., XIV, 29.5
3. Baudh. Sr. Su., XVIII, 44.
4. Cf. Weber I, 212.
5. IV.1, cf. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 153,
6. Brh. Upan., III, 8.2,

It seems that at a later stage Kasi also became very friendly with Kosala, which resulted in the formation of the compound name Kasi-Kausalyas found in the *Gopatha Brahmana.*[1]

The political activity of Kasi seems to have commenced from the time of the *Satapatha Brahmana*[2] which mentions Satanika, son of Satrajita who took the horse of king Kasya of Kasi and performed the Govinata Yajna. Afterwards, the king of Kasi performed the Yajna. The same text mentions Dhrtarastra as the king of Kasi who was defeated by Satanika Satrajita, with the result that the Kasis, down to the time of the Brahmanas, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire.[3]

The history of Kasi cannot, in the light of the available evidence, be taken as far back as the early Vedic period. Its existence as a political power does not find any notice in the early texts. However, the river Varanavati finds mention in the *Atharva-Veda,*[4] which may be connected with Varanasi of later times.

In north-western India, the Vedic civilization had, centred in the land of the Kuru-Pancalas, from where it was brought to the Kingdoms of Kosala-Videhas. Traces of the expansion of Aryan civilisation towards the east in the lands of Kosalas and Videhas are visible in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, where it is hinted that "in the Kuru-Pancala country lay the real centre of the Brahmana culture.

In the *Ramayana*, the kingdom of Kasi came into much prominence. Vasistha counts the kings of Varanasi among the pious rulers and asks Sumantra to invite them.[5] The *Epic* also mentions Pururava as the king of Kasi.[6] But elsewhere, Puru, son of Yayati, is represented as residing in Pratisthana and ruling over the Kasi kingdom.[7]

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[1] Gopatha Br., 1.2.9.

[2] Satapatha Br., XIII, 5.4.19.

[3] Ibid., 21.

[4] Atharva Veda, IV, 7.1.

[5] Ram. Adikanda, 13th Sarga.

[6] Ram. Uttarakanda, 56th Ch., Sl. 25.

[7] Ibid., Ch., 59, Sl. 19.

In the *Mahabharata*, Kasi is mentioned as a powerful country. Besides, Kasi was also known for its liberal monarchs. The grandfather of Divodasa, who was a king of Kasi, was the foremost of victorious men and was known as the name of Haryasva. In his lifetime the kingdom of Kasi was invaded by the sons of king Haihaya, who in a battle killed him. Soon after that, they retreated to their own kingdom, i.e., the country of the Vatsas. Kasi, however, could not remain under the sway of the Vatsas even after the defeat and assassination of its ruler. We are told that Sudeva, son of Haryasva was installed on the throne of Kasi as its king. This king of Kasi is described as resembling a celestial in splendour and as a second god of virtue. But again, after the lapse of some time, the kingdom of Kasi was invaded by the hundred sons of Vitahavya who inflicted a crushing defeat on the ruler of Kasi. The victors, however, did not stay but, like their father, returned to their own city. Sudeva was succeeded by his son, Divodasa who was installed on the throne of Kasi as its king.[1]

King Divodasa was fully aware of the past and the causes of defeat in the days of his predecessors. He was also fully aware of the might of his old rivals, the great princes of Vatsa, i.e., the sons of Vitahavya. Therefore, the first step, that Divodasa took to consolidate his kingdom, was the fortification of the city of Varanasi and its rebuilding. In his dominion all the four-castes, viz., the Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras were happily residing. During his reign much attention was paid to the material prosperity of the city as a result of which it began to teem with all sorts of articles and provisions and became adorned with prosperous shops and marts.

Due to the aggressive policy of its monarch, king Divodasa, the territory of Kasi extended northwards from the banks of the Ganga to the southern banks of the Gomati.

The Haihayas once again attacked the Kasi kingdom. Divodasa gave them a fierce battle, in which he lost a large number of

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1. Somewhere in the *Mahabharata*, the Kasi king Divodasa is mentioned as the son of Bhimasena and his son, Pratardana was born from Madhavi, daughter of Yayati (Mbh. V. 117).

his followers, animals and army. Seeing his treasury exhausted, he left his capital and fled away. The *Mahabharata* story is not a historical document in its entirety. It only reveals the pattern of struggle for supremacy between his rivals. It is further stated in the *Mahabharata* that Vitahavya's sons had killed all the children and men of Divodasa's house.[1]

Pratardana the son and suceessor of Divodasa, rehabilitated the fortunes of his family with a victorious march against Vitahavya.[2]

The *Mahabharata* does not preserve any account of the dynasty of king Pratardana except stating that he gave away his son to a Brahmana, by virtue of which he secured unique and eternal fame in this as well as in the other world.[3]

In the *Mahabharata* we have mention of several other kings of Kasi whose historic existence is not known. Vrsadarbha is also said to have been a ruler of Kasi.[4]

The rulers of Kasi seem to have had close affinity with the Pandavas of the Bharata War. We are told that the famous king of the Pandava dynasty, Bharata, son of Dusyanta married Sunanda, the daughter of king Sarvasena of Kasi.[5] Bhima, the elder brother of Arjuna also married the daughter of a king of Kasi.[6]

It seems that in the period to which the *Mahabharata* tradition refers, the kingdom of Kasi had become very feeble, and was subjugated several times by different rulers.[7]

In the *Udyogaparva*, we are told that Nakula had vanquished in battle the warriors of Kasi, Anga and Kalinga.[8] In the

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1. Mbh., XIII, 30.26-27.
2. Mbh., XIII, 37 ff.
3. Ibid., XIII, 137.5.
4. Ibid., XIII, 32.4.
5. Ibid., I, 95.
6. Ibid., Verse 77.
7. Ibid., I, 123.40.
8. Ibid., V, 50. 19.

Sabhaparva, before the commencement of the *Rajasuya*, the king of Kasi named Suvahu, was vanquished by Bhimasena during the course of his conquest of the eastern region.[1] At the coronation of king Yudhisthira, the king of Kasi was one of those monarchs who were waiting upon the king.[2]

Some decades before the declaration of the Bharata War, Kasi does not seem to have been on very friendly terms with the Kauravas or the Bharatas. At the time when Vicitravirya, the son of Santnu, was installed by Bhisma as the king of Hastinapura, Kasi was a full-fledged independent state. The ruler of Kasi had three daughters—Amba, Ambika and Ambalika. The king of Kasi made elaborate preparations for their *svayamvara* ceremony to which all the kings were invited. Bhisma, the son of Santnu, went to the city of Kasi and forcibly abducted the three maidens away on his chariot.[3] The two princesses, Ambika and Ambalika were married to Vicitravirya.[4]

In the *Mahabharata* the Kasi-Kosalas are mentioned together.[5] When the actual war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas commenced, the Kasis took the side of the Pandavas. Yudhisthira felt proud of having the Kasis as his allies along with the Pancalas, the Cedis and Matsyas.[6] During the war when Dhrstadyumna, the commander of the Pandava army, was asked to form *Krauncaruna Vyuha* or array, the ruler of Kasi is said to have been in the rear of the army for protection along with the Kekayas and the Cedis.[7] The number of Kasi soldiers on the side of the Pandavas must have been considerably large in view of the fact that full fourteen thousand chariot warriors of the Cedis, Kasis and Kurus are said to have laid down their lives in the great-battle.[8]

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1. Mbh., II, 30.
2. Ibid., II, 53.
3. Ibid., V, 173.9ff.
4. Ibid., V, 175.
5. Ibid., VI. 9.
6. Ibid., V. 72.
7. Ibid., VI, 50.
8. Ibid., VI, 117,

The son of the ruler of Kasi named Vibhu is also spoken of as participating in the Bharata War as an ally and follower of Dhrstadyumna.[1] According to king Duryodhana himself the ruler of Kasi was endowed with great energy.[2]

In the last battle-scene, however, we have the reference of a Kasi king named Abhivus who was slain by the son of Vasudana.[3] This incident possibly marks the end of Kasi's glory in the *Mahabharata*. Krsna also defeated in battle the Kasis[4] and is elsewhere said to have burnt the city of Varanasi.[5]

Kasi, as a kingdom (*Janapada*), is also mentioned in the *Puranas* which contain several interesting points of information about the Kasi kings. The *Vayu Purana* mentions a king named Kasa of the family of Nahusa. Kasa's sons went Kasaya, Rastra and Dirghatapa. Dirghatapa's son was Dharma. And Dharma's son was the most learned king Dhanvantari.[6] According to *Harivamsa*, Dirghatapa was the eldest son of Kasa.[7] The same text also mentions a king of Kasi named Saunihotra whose son was Dhanvantari,[8] who later became the king of Banaras.

The son of Dhanvantari was Ketumana. Ketumana's son came to be known as Bhimaratha, the most powerful ruler of his time. He became known as Divodasa, the most famous king of Varanasi. It is during his reign that the entire city of Banaras is said to have been deserted and was entered by a demon named Ksemaka.[9]

The reign of king Divodasa of the *Vayu Purana* is known for its political events. Divodasa is said to have killed the hundred sons of king Bhadrasrenya and entered his capital and usurped his kingdom. He, however, spared Durduma, a son of Bhadrasrenya, taking him to be a mere child.[1]

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[1] Mbh., VIII, 23.
[2] Ibid., VI, 25.
[3] Ibid., VIII, 6.23-24.
[4] Ibid., VII, 11.15.
[5] Ibid., V, 48.76.
[6] Vayu, P. Ch. 92.
[7] Harivamsa, Ch. 29.
[8] Ibid., Ch. 31.
[9] Vayu P., Ch. 92, Brahma P., Ch. 13, Sl. 75, Harivamsa, Chs. 31-32.

Durdama, the son of Bhadrasrenya, had his revenge when he re-captured his father's kingdom from the hands of Pratardana, the son of Divodasa. Durdama is styled as *Maharajadhiraja.*

Pratardana had two sons, Vatsa and Garga. The son of Vatsa was known as Alarka who is said to have re-established his ancestral kingdom and rebuilt the city of Varanasi.

Alarka's son was Sonnati who was succeeded by his son Sunitha. Sunitha was a pious and righteous king. Sunitha was succeeded by Suketu, who too was a pious king. The line of succession to the royal throne of Kasi after king Suketu is as follows :—

1.	Suketu	succeeded by	Dharmaketu
2.	Dharmaketu	,,	Satyaketu
3.	Satyaketu	,,	Vibhru
4.	Vibhru	,,	Suvibhru
5.	Suvibhru	,,	Sukumara
6.	Sukumara	,,	Dhrsthaketu
7.	Dhrsthaketu	,,	Venuhotra
8.	Venuhotra	,,	Gargya
9.	Gargya	,,	Garbhabhumi

The son of Gargya was Garbha-bhumi and Vatsa's son came to be known as Vatsya. The sons of these two kings became the Brahmanas and the Ksatriyas.[2]

It should, however, be noticed here that the relationship between the two kings, Garbhabhumi and Vatsa is not at all indicated in the *Vayu Purana*. The two monarchs, Garbhabhumi and Vatsa seem to be the two equal descendants of Gargya.

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1. Cf. Padma P., Ch. 12.
2. Vayu P., Ch. 92.

The *Puranas* contain a number of references to the kings of Kasi, but they are without any proper chronological sequence.[1]

The last days of Kasi are possibly described in the *Visnu Purana* where it figures in the story of Krsna's quarrel with the ruler of Pundra. The king of Pundra is said to have thrown a challenge to Krsna to acknowledge his supremacy.[2] The king of Kasi, an ally of Paundraka, went to his side and began to fight with Krsna of Dvaraka. Kasipuri or the capital of Kasi was burnt by Krsna.[3]

Banaras also figures as an important place in the Jain literature. According to the Jains, the twenty third Jain *Tirthankara*, Parsvanatha was born in Banaras in about 817 B.C. He was the son of Asvasena, the king of Banaras.[4] Parsvanatha is also said to have obtained Kaivala Jnana on the 84th day, seated under a certain tree near Banaras.[5] Besides, Banaras had close connections with the last *Tirthankara*, Mahavira and his famous disciples.[6] The *Kalpa Sutra* informs us that on the death of Mahavira, the eighteen confederate kings of Kasi and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis, instituted an illumination for they said: "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter".[7]

References to Kasi are not lacking in the stories of Mahavira and his disciples. The *Uvasagadasao* relates the story of a householder of Banaras, named Culanipiya, who was prosperous and had no equal. His wife was called Sama. At a certain time Mahavira came and a congregation went out from Banaras to hear him preach. Culanipiya lived in conformity with the teaching of Mahavira.[8] Some of the famous disciples of Mahavira had also

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1. See, Skanda. P., Ch. I; Kurma. P., Ch. 34. Sl. 32-33, Bhavisya P., Ch. I; Brahma, P., Ch. 13.
2. Visnu, P., 5th Amsa, Ch. 34, Verses 3-7.
3. Visnu. P., 5th Amsa, Ch. 34, verse 3.
4. Stevention, P. 48.
5. Ibid., p. 49.
6. Ibid.
7. S.B.E., XXII, p. 266.
8. Uvasag., Vol. II, pp. 90-93.

some association with the famous city of Baranasi. Suradeva, a prosperous householder lived at Banaras.[1] Others were Aryaraksita[2] and Jayaghosa.[3]

In the *Uttradhyayana Sutra*, the king of Kasi is said to have exerted himself for the best truth and abondoned all pleasures;[4] he became a follower of the faith of Jains.[5]

The *Uttradhyayana Sutra* further informs us that a famous Brahmana, Jayaghosa who was a staunch follower of Jainism, came to the town of Banaras during the course of his wandering. He went to the sacrifice of Vijayaghosa, a Brahmana of Banaras, who was well-versed in the Vedas, to beg alms and and in a conversation made him enter the order.[6]

Kasi and Videha

Kasi once seems to have been at daggers drawn with the great Janaka, the king of Videha. Ajatasatru the king of Kasi who was a contemporary of Janaka is represented in the *Kausitaki Upanisad* as being jealous of the latter's fame as a patron of learning. A passage in the *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*[7] alludes to frequent struggles between the heroes of Kasi and Videha. The *Mahabharata* also refers to the old story (*Itihasam Puratanam*)[8] of a great battle between Pratardana who was the king of Kasi according to the *Ramayana*[9] and Janaka, king of Mithila. The Pali commentary, *Param-attha-jotika*[10] states that the Licchavis who succeeded to the dynasty of king Janaka as the strongest political power in north Bihar, and formed the most formidable element of the Vajjian confederacy, were the offsprings of a queen of Kasi. "This indicates a belief in later ages that cadets from the royal family of Kasi established themselves in Videha".[1]

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[1] Uvasag., p. 100.
[2] Steventiön, p. 78.
[3] S.B.E. II, pp. 136-7.
[4] Ibid., XLVI, p. 87.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., Vol. 46, p. 136 ff.
[7] Brihad Up. III, 8.2.
[8] Mbh., XII, 99.1-2.
[9] Ram. VII, 48.15.
[10] Vol. I, pp. 158-165.

Rise of Kasi

Just before the rise of Buddhism, probably in the seventh century B.C , Kasi rose to prominence, was included in the list of the "*Solasa-Mahajanapada*" of considerable extent and power. The rise of Kasi as a formidable power was probably made possible only after the subversion of the Videhan monarchy in which it had a great hand. The rulers of Kasi are represented as ambitious for power and victories. The constant exertion of these ambitions must have resulted in the expansion of Kasi's power and prestige among the contemporary kingdoms.

Many *Jatakas* reflect the superiority of its capital Baranasi or Banaras over the other cities. The *Guttila Jataka* says that the city of Banaras is the chief city in all India.[2] The city extended over twelve leagues.[3] It was really a big city in comparison to other cities of its time like Mithila and Indrapatta, which were each only seven leagues in extent.[4] A *Jataka* informs us of a "Leaguer of seven kings drawn around this enviable city but without any avail".[5] The *Bhojajaniya Jataka* also makes a similar statement that "all the kingdoms round coveted the kingdom of Benares".[6] In the *Mahasilava Jataka*, the remark of the ex-minister of Kasi that 'the kingdom of Benares is like a goodly honey-comb untainted by flies', is a glorious tribute to Kasi.[7]

The prosperity and greatness of Kasi has equally been recognised in other Buddhist texts. The *Mahavagga* refers to its glorious days in former time.[8] All these statements suggest that the kingdom of Kasi at one stage must have been much stronger than its neighbours. "Benares in this respect resembled ancient

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1. P.H.A.I., p. 84.
2. Cowell, No. 243.
3. Cowell (Sambhava, J.), No. 515; Sarabha-niga J., 483; Bhuridatta J., 543.
4. Ibid., Suruchi J., 489; Vidhurapandita J., 545.
5. Fausboll, I, pp. 178, 181; II, p. 90.
6. Fausboll, I, p. 178.
7. Ratilal Mehta, op. cit.
8. Mahavagga X, 2.3; Vinaya I, 342.

Babylon and mediaeval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours".[1]

Kasi Imperialism

In certain *Jatakas*, the Kasi monarchs are described as aspirants for the dignity of the chief of all kings and lord of the whole of India.[2] Being a prosperous country, Kasi wanted to achieve greatness at the expense of other countries. As early as the period of the Brahmanas, a king of Kasi named Dhrtarastra attempted to offer a horse-sacrifice but was foiled in his attempts and was subdued by Satanika Satrajita. The Kasis, then, down to the time of the *Satapatha Brahmana*, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire.[3] The *Jatakas* furnish accounts of certain Kasi monarchs who went a step forward and achieved glorious victories for themselves.

Kasi and Kosala

The mutual feud between the Kasi kings and their neighbours, the Kosalas, was the predominant feature of the pre-Buddhist age. The struggle probably lasted for many a generation. The *Jatakas* furnish ample information of these struggles. According to some *Jataka*,[4] Brahmadatta, the king of Kasi, once went against the king of Kosala with a large army. He entered the city of Savatthi and imprisoned its king. There he set up his own officers known as *Rajayutte* to look after the affairs of the newly acquired territory and himself returned to his kingdom with a large booty. But the Kosala prince Chatta managed to escape in disguise and in due course of time recovered his lost kingdom.[5] In another *Jataka*,[6] again, a king of Kasi known as Brahmadatta seized the Kosala city with the help of his large army and assassinated the king. He took

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1. P.H.A.I., p 98.
2. Cowell, Bhaddasala J., 465, Dhonasakha J., 353.
3. Sat. Br. XIII, 5.4.19.
4. Fausboll, III, p. 115f.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., VI, p. 426ff.

away the Kosala queen to Baranasi and made her his queen-consort. Another Kasi king named Manoja started his career of conquest by first annexing the kingdom of Kosala.[1] At another time when Dighiti was the king of Savatthi, a king named Brahmadatta of Kasi is said to have killed him in an encounter and thus acquired the kingdom of Kosala.[2] In this combat, prince Dighayu, the son of Dighiti, however, escaped in disguise and later on became a close associate of the Kasi king Brahmadatta, who being much pleased with his conduct, made him his son-in-law by giving him the hands of his daughter and thus restored his father's kingdom. Dr. Ray Chaudhury has rightly pointed out that the reference in *Mahabharata*[3] to Kasi princesses, the mother of Dhrtarastra and Pandu, as Kausalya, possibly points to the traditional union of the two realms of Kasi and Kosala in the period when part of the epic was compiled.[4]

Expansion of Kasi Kingdom

The Kasi monarchs were not content with their mere kingdom, though a prosperous one, nor with the annexation of the neighbouring power of Kosala. They followed an aggressive policy and used the imperial titles of *Sarvabhauma*, *Samrat* and *Ekarat*. The smaller states of Vidarbha, Kalinga and Assaka, which had shown signs of disruption and hostility, provided ample opportunity to the ever ambitious monarchs of Kasi to cross the Vindhyas. The *Assaka Jataka* informs us that the city of Potali, the capital of Assaka on the Godavari, was captured by the Kasi king who made the King of Assaka his vassal.[5] The further expansion of Kasi kingdom is shown in the *Sona-Nanda Jataka*[6] where Manoja, king of Baranasi, is said to have subdued the kings of Kosala, Anga and

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1. Fausboll, V, pp. 315-316.
2. Fausboll, III, p. 487; pp. 211-13.
3. Mbh. I, 105.47.ff; 106.2. 13; 113.43; 114.3f; 126.16; 117.24.
4. P.H.A.I., p. 98 fn.
5. Cowell, No. 207.
6. Cowell, 532 cf. also Fausboll, V, p. 317 where he is said to have conquered Magadha, Avanti & Assaka, cf. Ibid., p. 316.

Magadha. Elsewhere, he is described as *Rajadhiraja Manoja va Jayatam pati.*[1] Somewhere, again, he is addressed as Bharata.[2]

The ascendancy of Kasi is not only confined to the conquests of the eastern and southern kingdoms. We are told of several Kasi monarchs extending their sway as far as Gandhara in the extreme north-west of India and invading its capital city, Takkasila. Though their advance towards the north-west was effectively checked, we twice hear of them preparing for an attack on the city; but they were repulsed and hence made their retreat without achieving their object.[3]

It is very difficult to absolutely rely upon these accounts furnished by the *Jatakas* and *Mahabharata* and the other Buddhist texts referring to the achievements of the individual kings, unless some corroborative evidence comes to our aid in establishing the chronological sequence of the kings belonging to different dynasties and different ages. However, the only plausible inference that can be drawn is that Kasi, before the birth of Mahavira and the Buddha, must have been a formidable an imperial power, ever-ready to aggrandise itself at the expense of its neighbours.

Eclipse of Kasi's Glory

The kingdom of Kasi collapsed against the rising power of Kosala and finally became an integral part of the Magadha Empire in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Kasi had to face opposition from two directions. In the north, the kingdom of Kosala waited for an opportunity to swallow its old rival; while in the east, the kingdoms of Anga and the allied Nagas were the other adversaries of Kasi.

The *Jatakas* refer to the Nagas who were very hostile towards Kasi. A story from *Jataka* tells us that Banaras was invaded by a Naga king Dhatarattha who wanted to marry Princess Samuddaja of

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1. Fausboll, V. p. 322-G. 127.
2. Ibid., p. 317-G-94.
3. Ibid., II, pp. 217-18, III, pp. 159-60.

Baranasi and hence marched with a great force towards the city.[1] This matrimonial alliance produced friendship between the king of Banaras and the king of the Nagas. In another *Jataka*, the Naga king Campeyya is said to have acted as mediator in the Anga-Magadha conflict, set the Magadhan king over both the kingdoms and thus received from him a tribute in return of his services.[2]

But the power that really proved disastrous to Kasi was that of the Kosalas. The *Jatakas* and the *Mahavagga* refer to bitter conflicts between these two powers in which success seems to have crowned Kasi at first, but ultimately the tables turned in favour of Kosala. The *Mahasilava Jataka* speaks of King Mahasilva of Kasi who was deprived of his realm by the ruler of Kosala.[3] In the *Ghata*[4] and *Ekaraja Jataka*,[5] Vanka and Dabbasena, sovereigns of Kosala, are said to have won for their country a decided proponderance over Kasi. Two unnamed Kosala kings are said to have invaded and successfully captured the kingdom of Banaras.[6] The final annexation of Kasi was probably achieved by Kamsa as the epithet *Baranasiggaho*, i.e., "seizer of Benares" is a standing addition to his name.[7] Rhys Davids rightly observes : "The interval of time between Kamsa's conquest of Kasi and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kasi as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in Buddha's time and even later, when the *Anguttara Nikaya* was composed".[8]

The kingdom of Kasi formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy in the time of Mahakosala, father of Pasenadi, about the middle of the sixth century B.C. The *Jatakas* inform us that a village of Kasi producing a revenue of a hundred thousand was given by Mahakosala as pin money to his daughter Kosaladevi

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1. Fausboll, VI, pp. 165-66 GG., 753-9.
2. Ibid., IV, pp. 454-5.
3. Cowell, No. 51.
4. Ibid., 355.
5. Ibid., 303.
6. Fausboll, I, pp. 409-10; V, p. 430.
7. Cowell, (Seyya J.), No. 282, Tesaku a Jataka, No. 521; Rhys Davids, p. 25.
8. Ibid., p. 25.

married to King Bimbisara of Magadha.[1] Kasi continued to be a part of the Kosala Kingdom even in the time of Pasenadi. The conversation between the Buddha and Lohicca in the *Lohicca Sutta*[2] proves it. When the Buddha asks Lohicca whether or not king Pasenadi is master of Kasi and Kosala, the latter replies, "Yes, that is so, Gautama". The *Mahavagga*[3] also informs us that a brother of Pasenadi acted as the Viceroy of Kasi.

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[1] Cowell, (Harita Mata J.), No. 239; Vaddhaki Sukara J., No. 283.

[2] Dial. Part I, 288-97.

[3] S.B.E. XVII, p. 195.

SOCIAL LIFE

—The Brahmanas
—The Khattiyas
—The Vessas
—Family Life
—Hospitality
—Position of Women
—Forms of Marriage
—Svayamvara
—Gandharva
—Remarriage
—Widowhood
—Motherhood

CHAPTER III

Social Life

SOCIETY in ancient India was primarily based on caste-system, i.e., the *Varnas*. The *Jatakas*, unlike the Brahmanical texts or law books, do not reflect the highly developed system of caste. Caste-distinctions and allied matters are, however, occasionally dealt with.

The theory of the origin of the four castes from the divine being, the Great Brahma, was not unknown to the *Jatakas*. The origin of the caste system is described in some *Jataka* as follows :-[1]

> "Brahmins he made for study, for command
> He made Khattiyas ! Vessa's plough the land;
> Suddas be servants made to obey the rest;
> Thus from the first went forth his high behest;"

and then, "We see these rules enforced before our eyes".

Thus, the law of society evolved for the most part out of such conceptions of religion, and social system was based upon these four theoretical divisions of people who were broadly distinguished as Aryans from the rest of the population looked down upon as *Milakkhus* or *Milakkhus* (*Mlecchas*).[2] Reference to a number of *hinajatis* (law tribes) and *hinasippas* (law trades), living in the kingdom of Kasi as well as in the rest of Jambudipa, shows that these also constituted a part of society of the Indo-Aryans. The *Vinaya Sutta-vibhanga*[3] enumerates the five *hinajatis* as the

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1. Fausboll, VI, p. 207-G. 896.
2. Digha, III, p. 264; Sam. V. p, 466; J. VI, p. 207; Sumingla I, p. 176; etc.
3. Ang. I, p. 107; II, p. 85.

Candalas, Venas, Nisada, Rathakara and *Pukkusa*. Of these 'low tribes', the *Candalas* are distinguished from the Pukkusas as corpse-throwers (*cavacaddhaka*) and from the *methars* and sweepers (*puppahacaddhaka*). In the opinion of Rhys Davids,[1] 'they were aboriginal tribesmen', the last three being hereditary craftsmen.

The persistent Brahmanical tendency to give a hereditary character to occupational distinctions led to the formation of castes and castes within castes. The early records of Jainas and Buddhists reveal a powerful movement of thought counteracting this rapidly increasing tendency. In the *Uddalaka Jataka*,[2] the penetrating *gathas* first declare that 'right conduct is the only way to bliss' : a thousand Vedas will not safely bring : and then, who is a true Brahmana ? The liberal attitude of the Buddhists towards the members of the society is well reflected in this *Jataka* where the purohita, the father of Uddalaka says :

> "Khattiya, Brahmana, Vessa, Sudda and Candala Pukkusa,
> All these can be compassionate, can win Nirvana's bliss :
> None among all the saints is found who worse or better is."[3]

The above *gatha* undoubtedly refers to the existence of atleast the above-mentioned classes of people in the society. Stress is laid upon the virtue of a man which is the sole factor in the determination of individual status in society. Thus, in the *Silavimamsa Jataka*[4] the *gathas* say that birth and caste (*Jati ca vanna ca*) cause conceit : virtue (*silam*) is the highest : Khattiya, Brahmana, Vessa, Sudda, Candala and Pukusa—all become equal in the world of the gods, if they have acted virtuously here.

These classes of people, and the same ideal of their equality, obviously viewed from ethical standpoint, occur again in the *Amba Jataka*.[5] Other instances are not lacking.[6] Above all, we have the most wonderful verses of the *Bhuridatta Jataka*[1] with their scathing remarks on the social conditions of the day.

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[1] Rhys David, p. 54.
[2] Fausboll, IV, pp. 297-304-GG. 62-76.
[3] Ibid., p. 303-G-72.
[4] Fausboll, III, pp. 184-85-GG. 65-9.
[5] Ibid. IV, p. 205-GG. 7-9.
[6] Cf. IV, p. 304-G.76; VI, p. 100-G.427.

This is quite sufficient to show that, however, much the reformist section of the society of the times might try, as in the present day, to belittle the importance of birth, caste, the Vedas and the Brahmanas, and exalt the importance of virtue as the means to salvation, the division of society into classes named above, was a fait accompli.[2]

Class-struggles and conflicting influences belong to all epochs, and are grafted on the most diverse of social constitutions. We may take a general view of the data presented in the *Jatakas* on this point and see in what positions the four primary castes stood towards each other in the social structure of the times.

The Brahmanas

Of all the classes, the Brahmanas seem to have formed the premier caste;[3] they alone enjoyed the privilege of acting as priests at secrifices.[4] Fick has observed that the great mass of Brahmanas, spread over the whole of Northern India, does not constitute a well-organised body with a chief and a council.[5] The *Jatakas* have portrayed the position of the Brahmanas in a quite different way from that presented in the Brahmanical Law Books. Owing to the Buddhist influence on the life and culture of the *Jataka* age we find the Brahmana now as a teacher, or behind the plough, or as a soothsayer in the court of the king, or as a rich merchant, or as the head of a big caravan.[6]

Sometimes the *Jatakas* may present a somewhat biased view of the Brahmanas. In many cases for example, the Brahmanas, are represented as greedy, shameless and immoral and serve as a foil to the Ksatriyas who play the part of the virtuous and noble

1. Cf. IV, VI, pp. 199-214-GG. p. 100-G.866ff.
2. Cf. Hopkins, C.H.I., I, p. 260.
3. Fausboll, III, p. 232; IV, p. 328.
4. Ibid., VI, p. 119-G.866.
5. Fick, p. 181.
6. Ibid., pp. 182-83.

humanity.[1] In the *Junha Jataka*[2] we have the description of the shameful behavionr of a Brahmana who pours out his wisdom only to fetch a handsome reward from the king. The greediness of the Brahmanas is frequently brought out (*brahmana dhanalota honte*).[3] They have been sometimes nicknamed as *Odariya*, meaning, fond of eating.[4] On the other hand we also notice the mention of noble Brahmanas in the Brahmanical sense.

Fick[5] rightly distinguishes between the two kinds of Brahmanas: One the "proper", i.e., those who corresponded closely to the ideal sketched in the older scriptures, and the other "worldly" i.e., those who did not much conform to the strict rules of their class, followed all sorts of occupations and represented the major portion of their class.

A true or "proper" Brahmana ordinarily passed through the following stages in his life : When he grew up, he went to a teacher, and studied the Vedas. He then set up a household and later renounced the worldly life and went to the forest, where he lived either as a hermit or surrounded by a host of pupils and ascetics. In course of time he took up the life of an ascetic and lived by begging.[6]

This seems to be the normal course of life of the Brahmana of the first type. Still devitations are noticed in certain cases where the different stages may overlap one another. For example, we see the Brahmana renouncing the world immediately after he is grown up, apparently without fulfilling the duties of a scholar and a house-holder.[7]

The *Jatakas* state only half-truth when they make the Brahmana's position inferior to that of the Khattiyas. On the

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1. Fick, p. 183.
2. Fausboll, IV, p. 96ff.
3. Ibid., pp. 343, 425; 455, II, p.46; IV, p. 373-GG-287-8; VI, pp.211-12.
4. Ibid., VI, p. 208-G.898.
5. Fick, p. 192ff.
6. Cf. J. II, p. 85; See also II, pp. 394, 411; III, pp. 147, 352.
7. Fausboll, I, pp. 333, 361, 373, 450; II, pp. 131, 232, 266; See also II, pp. 4, 145, 269, 437, etc.

whole, they were held in respect by the people. They are described in certain *gathas* as men of upright life.[1] They also enjoyed the privilege of *dana*, i.e., of receiving presents in a much greater measure. Not only kings, the people in general also used to give gifts to the Brahmanas whose services they required on various occasions. They offen invited the Brahmanas to meals.[2] After finishing the meals the Brahmanas took the 'gifts' (*vacanakam*) uttered benediction (*mangalam*) and went away.

The *Jatakas* seem to attach some superiority to the Brahmanas belonging to the North, i.e., the *Udicca* Brahmanas.[3] These Brahmanas were possibly conscious of their high descent and tried to observe the rules and prescriptions of their class. In the *Satadhamma Jataka*[4] we notice the pride with which the Brahmana, in reply to the Candala's question, says : "I am a Brahmana from the North". Does it not go to prove the superiority of the Northern Brahmanas ? In the *Mahasupina Jataka*,[5] it is an *Udicca* Brahmana who exposes the frauds practised upon the king by the Brahmanas in his service.

The worldly Brahmanas, however, followed all sorts of vocations which might be unworthy from the stricter Brahmanical viewpoint. In one of the *Jatakas*[6] we have the description of ten classes of Brahmanas which are as follows :—

1. *Tikicchakasama* : They seem to have pursued the professions of physicians, carrying with them roots and healing herbs in sacks fastened upon their backs. They also recited magic spells possibly to cure diseases.

2. *Paricarakasama* : They acted as servants whose primary business was to bring messages. They also acted as trained charioteers.

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[1] Fausboll, VI, pp. 554-G. 2200; 567; G. 1348. Dhammika honti Brahmana.

[2] Fausboll, I, p. 318; III, p. 238; IV, p. 391; V, p. 247.

[3] Ibid., I, pp. 140, 324, 393, 356, 361, 373, 406, 431, 436, 450, 474, 494, 505 ; II, p. 83; III, p. 232; V, pp. 193, 227; VI, p. 32.

[4] Ibid., II, p. 83.

[5] Ibid., I, p. 343A.

[6] Ibid., IV, pp. 361-65-GG. 225-266.

3. *Niggahkasama* : These types of Brahmanas moved into the towns and villages to meet the king with gifts, which they collected in course of their wanderings in the woods, towns and villages.

4. *Khanughatasama* : This class of Brahmanas looked like beggars and had long nails, hairy limbs, foul teeth matted hair and their bodies covered with dust and dirt.

5. *Vanijakasama* : Under this category were included those Brahmanas who used to trade in certain economic goods or commodities such as myrobolan, *bilva* fruit, rose apple, ripe mangoes, labuj—fruit, honey, sugar-cane, baskets, ointment planks of wood, tooth-brush and smoking-pipes, etc.

6. *Sama-Ambabatthavessehi* : These brahmanas were distinguished by their economic professions as well as by their peculiar social customs, such as giving and taking money in marriage and selling their daughters for gold like Vessa and Ambattha.

7. *Gohatakasama* ; They are compared with butchers, mostly because their kins, bullocks and goats were slaughtered and they sold their beasts for money.

8. *Samagopanisahehi* : Such a class of Brahmanas used to guide the caravan of merchants. They are described as armed with sword, shield and battle-axe etc.

9. *Luddaka* : Like hunters, the Brahmanas of this class used to catch fish, tortoise, hare, wild-cat, lizard etc.

10. *Malmajjanasama* : For the love of gold, Brahmanas of this class attended on their royal masters just like barbers.

The Brahmanas were employed by the kings mainly for sacrifice.[1] The Kings also called them to avert the impending dangers and misfortunes through the performance of the fourfold sacrifice.[2]

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[1] Fausboll, I, p. 343ff.

[2] Ibid., III, p. 45ff.

These instances show that even during the Buddhist period the practice of sacrifice was adhered to. Besides, dream reading and fortune-telling also constituted their functions.[1]

The Khattiyas

The Khattiyas represented the ruling class, family, tribe or clan, claiming the Aryan descent. As a class, they were expected to be warriors by their training and occupation. The Khattiyas had always on air of superiority about their persons. Even with regard to a Brahmana, the Khattiya seems to be conscious of his superiority, so much so that king Arindama, for instance, calls Sonaka, the Purohita's son, a man of low birth.[2] Even in the enumeration of the castes, the Khattiyas are almost always mentioned first.[3] The *Jatakas* probably understood by a Khattiya, a member of the ruling class, which included the king, his great lords and vassals, along with the higher officers of the army.[4] The Khattiyas had perhaps the sole or main duty of defending the honour of their country and so far they could be looked upon as "warriors per excellence".[5]

The Vessas

The word Vessa (*Vaisya*) very rarely occurs in the *Jatakas* and there too, it does not mean any existing social unit or group. "If any social division of our period corresponds to the traditional Vaisya order, and has a similar meaning, it is that of the Gahapati (*Grhapati*) or the householder".[6] The Gahapatis are the land-owning and merchantile class ranking below the Khattiyas and the Brahmanas. They also appear permanently in the retinue of the king, along with the ministers and the Brahmanas.[7] We have the

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1. Fausboll, I, p. 290; II, pp. 21, 200, 250 etc.
2. Ibid., V, p. 257.
3. Ibid., I, p. 326; III, p. 194; IV, pp. 205, 303.
4. Fick, p. 79.
5. Ibid., II, p. 166; III, pp. 106, 154; V, pp. 99, 112.
6. Ratilal Mehta, p. 255. *N.B.* The Gahapatis included Brahmanas and Khattiyas householders.
7. Fausboll, I, pp. 152, 470; II, p. 124, 241; IV, pp. 227-G. 63; Mahavagga I, 22-3.

instance of one such Gahapati who deals in vegetables and fruits[1] Another poor Gahapati maintains himself and his mother with difficulty by working as a hired labourer.[2]

The Gahapati engages himself in whatever occupation he likes. The Gahapati class embraces in its fold all those traders and businessmen, the craftsmen and the artisans whom we have noticed in the course of our study of the economic life of Kasi Janapada. In fact, the large mass of people followed different professions and different rules of life. They did not form anything like a closed rank with rigid caste rules binding them all. But in matters of profession the Gahapatis can be differentiated from the Khattiyas and the Brahmanas on the one hand and the Suddas and other lower strata of the people on the other. Senart remarks that "the Vaisyas are, in Brahmanic tradition, chiefly regarded as cultivators and merchants, but Buddhist literature in calling them generally Gahapatis or 'house-holders' brings them strictly into line with the interpretation of the Iranian category".[3]

The Gahapatis are also known as *Ibhas* (*Ibhyas*) in the *Jatakas*. *Ibha* means wealthy, a term which also occurs in one of the *Upanisads*[4] and in one of the *Rock Edicts* of Asoka.[5] It designated the rich, upper and middle class of the society of the times.

The *Setthis* are, however, the most important and aristocratic representatives of the *Gahapati* class. The word *Kutumbika* is quite common in the *Jatakas*.[6] The *Kutumbikas* lived in towns and villages. Sometimes they carried an extensive trade.[7]

There were a number of classes in the Buddhist age, such as those of manufacturers and handicraftsmen. A number of professions of different kinds noticed in the economic life point in this direction. Fick observes "......the more in the course of centuries

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1. Fausboll, III, pp. 21; IV, p. 446.
2. Ibid., II, p. 139, 325.
3. Senart, pp, 117-18.
4. Vedic Index I, p. 80.
5. R.E.V.
6. Fausboll, II, p. 267.
7. Ibid., IV, p. 370.

the caste theory obtained currency, the greater the exclusiveness of, and respect for the leading castes, the more did the manufacturers' corporations become incorporated in the caste order. After the example set by the nobility and the Brahamanical caste, they surrounded themselves with limitations by which a common bed and a common table were forbidden with members of castes, who on account of the lowness of their race occupied a lower stage of human society than they themselves".[1]

In the village and town life we notice another class of people in the society who may technically be called the serving class "composed of all possible elements of the population differing in point of race and professional work". We meet with men of even higher and aristocratic castes engaged in physical labour for their livelihood. They were known as *Bhataka*. We are reminded of the poor Gahapati of the *Sutano Jataka*[2] and of the three Brahmana girls of the *Suvannahamsa Jataka*,[3] who joined the ranks of the serving classes. Of all the classes the position of the slaves deserves special attention. They seem to have been drawn from all classes under various circumstances; their lot was miserable and their status low. But they occupied in society a position in some respects different from that of the despised classes to be noticed below.

Now, coming to the lowest strata of the social structure of the day, we notice a great mass of people belonging to the hill-tribes, who were reduced to servitude or to low pursuits, such as leather-workers, fowlers, etc. These were the dirty and disagreeable people whom the Brahmanas despised, but who were shown love and honour under the Buddhist influence.[4]

In the *Jatakas* we meet with a number of low races or classes, the lowest of whom were the Candalas. They were not allowed to live within the boundaries of the cities and towns or even of the villages. They lived outside i.e., *bahinagare*[5] and had their own settlements in villages (*Candalagamake*).[6] The Candalas were so much looked down upon that "even the touch or the sight of a chandala caused impurity". In the *Setaketu Jataka* we come across with a Brahmana youth who meets a Candala and knowing his caste tries to escape from him for fear lest the wind after touching his body might touch his own. He cries out loudly : "Curse you, you ill-owned Candala, get out of the wind".[1] In some *Jataka* we are told that sixteen thousand Brahmanas lost their caste because they, unknowingly though, took food which had been polluted by contact with the leavings of a Candala's meal.[2] The idea of a pollution by touch of a Candala seems to be too prominent in the *Jatakas*.[3]

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 284-85.
[2] Fausboll, III, p. 325.
[3] Ibid., I, p. 475.
[4] C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 260.
[5] Fausboll, IV, p. 376; See Manu, X. 51.
[6] Ibid., pp. 200, 376, 390.

The tragic state of affairs among the Candalas was due to their low stage of culture which prevented them from taking to higher professions, even that of an artisan. We have very little knowledge about their professional work. We notice in a *Jaṭaka* the Candalas who were flute-players.[4] Elsewhere, they appear as mendors of old and broken ware *Jinnapatisamkharako*,[5] and also as corpse-burners.[6] The low position of the Candalas is summed up in a *Jataka* in the following manner :

> "The lowest race that go upon two feet
> Are the Candalas, meanest men on earth."[7]

Among other equally despised classes of men, mention may be made of the *Pukkusas*,[8] whose occupation was that of removing dead flowers from the temples.[9] The *Nisadas* were another Non-Aryan people who were assigned the task of killing fish and the like.[10] In the *Jatakas*, they appear as hunters and fowlers.[11]

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[1] Fausboll, III, p. 233.
[2] Ibid., IV, p. 388.
[3] Ibid., IV, pp. 376, 390-91; See also pp. 246, 379, 380; Cf. Brhad. Up. 6, 4, 113.
[4] Ibid., IV, p. 388.
[5] Ibid., p. 429; Ch. Manu X. 52.
[6] Ibid., p. 449-G. 335; Ch. Manu, Loc. Cit.
[7] Ibid., IV, p. 397-G. 39.
[8] Ibid., III, pp. 194-95-GG. 65-9; IV, p. 205-G. 7-9; 303-G. 72; VI, p. 142-G. 636.
[9] Ibid., V, p. 449-G. 335; Thig. V, p. 620. Ch. Oldenberg, p. 159.
[10] See Manu X. 48.
[11] Fausboll, II, p. 132; III, p. 97; IV, pp. 364, 413; V, pp. 110, 337.

The low and despised position of the *Nisadas* in society is also referred to in the *Jatakas*. In the *Rohantamga Jataka*, the king asks the hunter to give up his sinful occupation and advises him to take up other means of livelihood, such as agriculture, lending money and trade.[1] This is an indication of the low estimation in which this profession was held at that time. The *Nisadas* also lived outside villages and towns, in a village by themselves.[2]

Family Life

Even from the *Rgvedic* times onwards till the present day, the *Kutumba* or the family has been the unit of society. It was patriarchal in nature in which the father was the supreme authority. Under his fostering care lived his wife or wives, his sons and the unmarried daughters and the daughters-in-law. In the *Jataka* period, marriage was generally monogamic, though polygamy was often practised among the aristocrats or nobility and kingly class. The wife was the house-mistress but dependant on and obedient to, the master, her husband.

The birth of children was highly applauded. Prayers were offered for the birth of a child.[3] The birth of a child was celebrated amidst great rejoicings to which neighbours and relatives came with offerings to the parents of the new-born child.[4] A day was fixed for naming the child (*namagahanadivasa*).[5]

As play, mirth, merry-making and enjoyment have been the very life-breath of children,[6] we see them making hills of dust-heaps,[7] the girls shaking sand in a small winnowing basket,[8] the mischievous young lads playing at the foot of the banyan tree at the entrance of the village,[9] or having a ride on young bulls of the

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1. Fausboll, IV, p. 422-G, 112.
2. Ibid., II, p. 36; IV, p. 422.
3. Ibid., II, p. 328; V, p. 312.
4. Ibid., V, p. 127.
5. Ibid., I, p. 404; VI, p. 332.
6. Ibid., V, p. 330-GG. 177-78; (*Anando ca pamado ca sada hasitakilitam*).
7. Ibid., VI, p. 559-G. 2235.
8. Ibid., p, 64.
9. Ibid., III, p. 202.

village,[1] or else, harassing the poor mother by refusing to go to the field.[2] A child in that charming and simple society of old had no other advanced means of entertainment then resorting to these means of recreation.

In the family, the relationship between the children and parents was an ideal one. The father was regarded as the model of all that is good and kind. Parents are recognised as god-like.[3] Such statements as[4] were intended to inculcate the high sense of reverence among the children towards their parents. In their old age the burden of supporting them was enjoined upon the sons by religion and, more so, by tradition.[5] In the *Vessantara Jataka*, we observe Vessantara and Maddi respectfully making obeisance to his father, who with his hand strokes them pleasantly.[6] The daughters had also certain duties towards their parents. They are also represented as serving their father or mother. Thus, in some *Jataka*, a beautiful girl is fanning her father or mother, with a palmleaf as he lies on a little bed to allay discomfort after his early meal.[7] The relation between brothers and sisters was also a happy one. In some *Jataka* we hear that sisters surely are loving towards their brothers.[8]

The ideal which prevailed among the folk is that :

> "A father's or a mother's pain or sister's to relieve
> A man should never hesitate his very life to give."[9]

The affection of a mother towards her child is beautifully reflected in the *Jataka* stories which are full of joys and sorrows, hopes and fears. The story in the *Sona-Nanda Jataka*[10] gives us an insight into the bonds of love between the parents and children. The two brothers, Sona and Nanda support their old parents and do every thing for them with every care. The elder one reproaches his younger brother for his unsatisfactory service to them and turns him out of the home. And when after more than seven years he comes back, his mother's heart is filled with inexpressible tender feelings. She runs towards her son, embraces him, smells and kisses his head and keeps her heart at rest.

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[1] Fausboll, I, p. 194.
[2] Ibid., VI, p. 377.
[3] Ibid., VI, p. 364. (*Pubbadevata nama Matapitaro*).
[4] Ibid., V, p. 331-G. 182. 'Brahman hi mato pitaro pubbacariya ti vuccare'.
[5] Ibid., III, pp. 137, 270, 325; IV, pp. 45, 90, 280-G. 10; 417, V, p. 492-GG 433-4.
[6] Ibid., VI, pp. 479-594.
[7] Ibid., III, p. 283.
[8] Ibid., III, p. 165.
[9] Ibid., VI, p. 587-G. 2432.
[10] Ibid., V, pp. 22, 312 ff.

The following *gatha* puts before us the type of an affectionate mother with all her joys and anxieties, more sublimely than even Wordsworth could[1] :

"Craving a child in prayer, she kneels each holy shrine before,
The changing seasons closely scans and studies astral lore,
Pregnant in course of time she feels her tender longings grow,
And soon the unconscious babe being a loving friend to know,
Her treasure for a year or less she guards with utmost care,
Then brings it forth and from that day a mother's (janetti) name will bear.

With milky breast and lullaby (*Sitena*) she soothes the fretting child,

Wrapped in her comforter's warm arms his woes are soon beguiled,

Watching O'er him poor innocent, last wind or heat annoy,
His fostering nurse she may be called, to cherish thus her boy,
What gear his sire and mother have she hoards for him may be,
She thinks, 'some day, my dearest child, it all may come to thee',

'Do this or that, my darling boy', the worried mother cries,
And when he's grown to man's estate, she still laments and sighs,
He goes in reckless mood to see a neighbour's wife an night,
She fumes and frets, 'Why will he not return while it is light?"[2]

In the father's old age, the burden of the family naturally fell upon the shoulders of the eldest son (Jetthaka).[3] After the father's

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1. Ratilal Mehta, p. 268.
2. Fausboll V, p. 329-30-GG. 166-172, See also III, p. 323-G. 11.
3. Ibid., V, p. 326-G, 149.

demise the son looked after the family property.[1] If the son was not advanced in age as yet, the management of the house passed into the hands of the widowed mother.[2] Brothers were entitled to equal shares of the family estate,[3] which suggests that there was a tendency for the family to break up as soon as the parents died.

Hospitality

The people of India as described in the *Jatakas* were very hospitable to the stranger. Receiving the hospitability of a stranger, by accepting from him food, drink and shelter, was enough to bind the guest and the host in mutual relations of friendship. The wise Vidhura remarks to the Yaksa that no one should have an evil thought against a man whose hospitability, food and drink he has accepted even for a single night.[4] It was the duty of the host to honour the guest by washing and anointing his feet and providing him with a seat.[5] The merchant in the *Pitha Jataka* rightly says :

> "The custom of our family—'t was so,
> Received by us from ages long ago,
> Is to provide the stranger with a seat,
> Supply his needs, bring water for his feet,
> And every guest as kinsmen dear to treat."[6]

Position of Women

Family was the basic unit of the social fabric. But, the domestic or household affairs always centred round the woman, the house-mistress.

The first stage of a woman, i. e., her childhood was naturally spent in her father's home. A daughter's birth was never considered such a great blessing as that of a son. In some *Jataka* the birth of a female child is even looked upon as a sign of ill-luck.[1]

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[1] Fausboll, I, pp. 226, 337; III, pp. 56, 300.
[2] Ibid., IV, p. 1.
[3] Ibid., III, pp. 57,300, 302-GG. 106-109.
[4] Ibid., VI, p. 310-G. 1364.
[5] Ibid., III, p. 10; IV, p. 52.
[6] Ibid., III, p. 120-G. 147-8.

The usual age of marriage of a girl was sixteen, when she was spoken of as grown up, and fit to be given away in marriage.[2] In exceptional circumstances the girls remained unmarried.[3] The boy's age at the time of his marriage is also usually given as sixteen.[4] There was, however, no hard and fast rule as regards marriageable age.

Out of the features of the *Jataka* age is the recognition of sister-marriage. In the *Udaya Jataka* we find prince Udaya marrying his own sister.[5] Similarly, in the *Dasaratha Jataka* we have the case of Rama marrying his sister Sita[6]. Apart from these, the marriage of cousins also appears to have been in vogue. In certain *Jatakas* we see a king giving away his daughter in marriage to his sister's son.[7] Prince Vessantara was also married to his maternal aunt, princess Maddi.[8]

Forms of Marriage

Generally three froms of marriage were practised, viz., *Svayamvara*, *Gandharva* and *Bramha*. The last one was quite frequent. Commonly, marriage was contracted between two families of the same caste (*Jati*) and rank (*Kulam*). This type of endogamous marriage was practised with a wiew to keeping the family pure. In the ordinary course, the parents arranged a wife for their son from a family of the same caste (*Samanajati kulam*).[9] *In* certain cases the chief members of the two families made a compact in

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1. Fausboll, III, p. 459-G. 54.
2. Ibid., I, p. 456; III, p. 93; V, p. 210.
3. Ibid., V. pp. 103-G. 321-104-G. 324.
4. Ibid., VI, pp. 72, 363.
5. Ibid., IV, p. 105.
6. Ibid., IV p. 130.
7. Ibid., I, p. 457; II, p. 327.
8. Ibid., VI, p. 486, See also IV, p. 49.
9. Ibid., I, pp. 199, 475; II; pp. 139, 225 III, pp. 93, 162, 422, 510; IV, pp. 722, 37, 255, VI, p. 72.

their youth that if one of them had a daughter and other a son, they would wed the pair together (*avaha-vivaha*).[1]

One some auspicious day already fixed the bridegroom used to come to the bride's house for marriage.[2] The bride-groom and his party were received with great hospitality and honour and were provided with lodging and other requirements, such as garlands, perfumes, garments and the rest.[3]

Dowry system, known as *dayajja*, was also in existence.[4]

Svayamvara

In this form of marriage the girls after attaining puberty used to choose husbands for themselves from a number of suitors. We have reference to the Savayamvara of princess Kanha in which her father held an assembly for this purpose. Kanha with a basket of flowers in her hand, stood looking out of an upper lattice window. On seeing the five sons of king Pandu, she fell in love with all of them and threw flowers on their heads, and said, "Dear mother, I choose these five men". She was permitted to have all these five persons, despite her father's great vexation.[5] There are various other instances of such marriages through *Svayamvara*.[6]

Gandharva

In this type of marriage the bride and the bride-groom made their own choice without the knowledge of their parents or guardians and got married without rites or ceremonies.[7] In the *Katthahari Jataka* we are told of a king going to his pleasure garden where he falls in love with a woman who conceives; she is made queen-consort and her son a viceroy.[8]

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1. Fausboll, IV, p. 316; VI, p. 71.
2. Ibid., II, pp. 225-26; Cf. Digha Nikaya, I, p. 11.
3. Ibid., IV, p. 323.
4. Ibid., III, p. 80; VI, p. 462.
5. Ibid., VI, pp. 426-27.
6. Ibid., I, pp. 205-6; V, pp. 264-65-GG. 1145,-8.
7. See I.H.Q., Vol, II, p. 134ff,
8, Fausboll, I, p. 134ff.

Instances of elopment and abduction are not lacking in the *Jatakas*. A king killed his enemy-king took away his queen to be his own wife.[1] Similarly, a robber-chieftain kidnapped a village girl and kept her as his wife.[2]

Polygamy among men was common, and as such a wife had to keep herself in her husband's home with co-wives (*sapatti*). However, such practices were quite rare among the masses. At one place alone we read of a Brahmana asking for and receiving two wives and that too as a boon from a king.[3] Polygamous marriages were common only among princely classes.[4] The worst misery for a woman, according to a queen, is "to quarrel with her fellow-wives (*Sapatti-rosadukkham*.)[5]

Remarriage

After the separation of married couples, due to any circumstances, we are told of man taking to another wife. In the *Takkala Jataka* we are told that *Vassitthaka* gave his wife a sound drubbing, and huddled her head-over-heals out of doors, bidding her never to darken his door again. She consequently, dwelt in another house. She was later informed by the women in the neighbour's family : "have you heard that your husband has gone to get another wife in such a place"?[6] Hearing of this news, she said, "Ah, then I am undone; there is no place for me left". Women also left their husbands and kept others. Thus, once a lord justice boldly advised a queen to forsake her husband who did not love her.[7] Elsewhere, Bodhisatta asks a Brahmana whose wife was found guilty of adultery either to keep her or take another.[3] Taking of another husband was possibly justified in the Buddhist kingdoms, for, we hear of the wise Vessantara speaking to his wife Maddi :

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1. Fausboll, V, p. 425.
2. Ibid., I, p. 297.
3. Ibid., IV, pp. 97-9-GG. 15, 24.
4. Ibid., IV, p. 320-G. 107-8, VI, p. 160.
5. Ibid., IV, P. 316.
6. Ibid., IV, pp. 45-9.
7. Ibid., III, p. 108-G. 131.
8. Ibid., III, p. 351.

> "Be kind, O Maddi, to thy sons, thy husband's parents both,
> To him who will thy husband be, do service, nothing both,
> And if no man should wish to be thy husband, when I'm gone,
> Go, seek a husband for thyself, but do not pine alone".[1]

Similarly, in another *Jataka* Pabhavati also indicates the same thing when she says, "What have I to do with such an ugly hideous husband ? If I live, I will have another husband".[2]

Widowhood

In the entire *Jataka* Stories, there would hardly be a single instance to show the self-immolation of a widow. It seems that the custom of *Sati* was quite absent in those days. But at the same time, it will have to be admitted that their condition was most pathetic. *Vidhavaputta* is a term of scorn and reproach.[3] The words of Maddi, a widow would, however, reflect the true state of affairs :

> "For terrible is widowhood...... The meanest harroes her about.
> Knocked down and smothered in the dust, held roughly by the hair,
> A man may do her any hurt, all simply stand and stare,
> Even in a prosperous homehold, bright with silver without end,
> Unkindly speeches never cease from brother or from friend,
> Naked are rivers waterless, a kingdom without king,
> A widow may have brothers ten, yet is a naked thing,
> A banner is the chariot's mark, a fire by smoke is known,
> Kingdoms by kings, a wedded wife by husband of her own.
> The wife who shares her husband's lot, be it rich or be it poor,
> Her fame the very gods do praise, in trouble she is sure."[4]

We have references to widow marriages. There was nothing abominable in that.[5]

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1. Fausboll, I, p. 495-GG. 1751-2.
2. Ibid., V, p. 288.
3. Ibid., VI, p. 33.
4. Ibid., VI. p. 508-G. 1869-1876.
5. Ibid., I, p. 225; VI, p. 159.

Motherhood

In the *Jatakas* a wife is called *Pajavati* (or Pajapati).[1] Women of every class had a great longing for sons and daughters, for whose births they prayed and offered gifts.[2] Barrenness was a curse to a woman.[3] A pregnant woman was generally sent to her own parental home (*Pitra Kulam*)[4] for bringing forth the child. At the time of her conception some ceremonies were performed for the protection of the embryo.[5]

An ideal wife strove to be equable, obedient, sweet of speech, fruitful, fair and famous and waiting on the wishes of her husband.[6]

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1. Fausboll, II, pp. 6, 305.
2. Ibid., VI, p. 150-G. 684-7.
3. Cf. Mbh. XIII. pp. 127, 129.
4. Fausboll, II, p. 122; IV, pp. 37-8, V,p. 439.
5. Ibid., II p. 2; IV, p. 323; V, p. 281.
6. Ibid., IV, p. 76-G. 134; G. III; 428-G, 130; V, p. 348 G. 62; VI p. 361.

ECONOMIC LIFE

—Agriculture
—Cattle-Rearing
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CHAPTER V

Economic Life*

THE *JATAKAS* preserve abundant information on the economic condition of ancient India, with particular reference to the conditions prevailing in the kingdom of Kasi, whose capital city, Varanasi was the centre of economic activity. The material at our disposal is not quite sufficient to present a systematic and exhaustive account of every aspect of the economic life of the people of Kasi Janapada, but it is delightful to note that whatever information we gather gives us a realistic picture of the people, both villagers and townsmen, of those ancient times, who lived in the land of the Kasis.

The geographical situation of the kingdom of Kasi which must have been the same as now and the climatic condition of that region, both seem to have been favourable to the growth of economic life and resources. River Ganga which flows through the ancient kingdom of Kasi must have supplied a rich and fertile plain with enormous amount of water which would certainly have provided plentiful growth of agricultural products as well as natural products, which we sometimes notice in the *Jataka* stories.

Agriculture

The life of the people in ancient times centred round agriculture which was the main occupation of the masses. The whole kingdom was filled with villages with only very few towns or cities, the former occupying a much larger space than the latter. There were different types of villages such as *gama*, *gamaka*, *nigamagama*, *dvaragama*, and *reccantagama*.

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Some of the villages were solely occupied by particular communities, some of them specialising in some kinds of industry. The *Jatakas* tell us that in the kingdom of Kasi there were villages of Brahmanas,[1] Candalas,[2] Carpenters,[3] Smiths,[4] Potters[5] and Weavers.[6] The existence and growth of such suburban areas was due either to the policy of segregation adopted by the higher castes or the king with regard to the people of lower classes like the Candalas, or to the natural tendency of localisation of particular kinds of handicrafts or industry, in which case the villagers had to depend on a contiguous town or a self-contained village. The *Jatakas* allude to the economic life of these *dvaragamas* to be very poor. The *Uraga Jataka* mentions the story of a poor Brahmana family living in a village outside the gates of Banaras and supporting his family by field labour.[7]

The cultivable land, which formed the most important factor in production was known as *Khetta.*[8] The fields were guarded by field-watchmen (*Khettarakkhaka* or *Khettagopaka*)[9] against beasts and birds. The agriculturists of Kasi might possibly have followed the practices of the people of Magadha in setting up boundary stones to distinguish the plots of land possessed by different owners.[10]

The agricultural land was ploughed with the help of ploughs drawn by oxen. The *Mahakapi Jataka* refers to the story of a Brahmana husbandsman in a village of Kasi, ploughing his field with oxen.[11] After ploughing was done, the husbandman used to break the clods in the earth with the help of a spade.[12] The *Jatakas* throwing light on the history of Kasi fail to inform us about the

[1] Cowell (*Sattubhasta*), J., No. 402.
[2] Ibid., Nos. 497, 542.
[3] Ibid., Nos. 466, 475, 492.
[4] Ibid., No. 387.
[5] Ibid., No. 408.
[6] Fausboll, I, p. 356.
[7] Cowell, J. Nos. 357, 513, 536.
[8] Ibid., (*Uraga*) J., No. 354; Faus. III, p. 162; IV, p. 114.
[9] Ibid., (*Sasa*), No. 316, (Faus. III, p. 52).
[10] Ibid., (*Salikedara*), No. 484 (Faus. Ed. p. 281).
[11] Ibid., No. 516.
[12] Ibid.

irrigation of agricultural lands. There is not even the slightest hint of artificial irrigation such as digging of long canals. But it is quite possible that the people in those days must have depended largely, if not wholly, upon nature or rains which are always uncertain. The presence of the great river Ganga passing through the kingdom of Kasi must have helped the cultivators a lot in irrigating the fields.

The agricultural products included rice of different varieties. We have reference to *tandula*.[1] Among other agricultural products or grain-crops, mention may be made of barley (*Java*),[2] peas and beans (*muggamasa*),[3] sugar-cane (*ucchu*)[4] seems to have been a very common crop and its sweet juice was used in plenty.[5]

Of the fibre-crops, cotton (*kappasa*) was the most important product of Kasi kingdom.[6]

Cattle-Rearing

Animals are of great use for purposes of cultivation as well as draught. Cattle were a highly esteemed form of wealth.[7] Their tending and rearing was an essential concern of the people, for, "upon kine depend men".[8] A *Jataka* refers to the cow's food (*Karati*).[9]

We have reference to pasture-grounds[10] on which the cattle wandered and grazed. The cow-herds used to go even to the forests with the cattle.[11] These cow-herds led their herds to the pasture lands, grazed them during the day and returned them to the owners in the evening.[12] The tenders of these domesticated animals were known

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1. Cowell (*Salikedara*) No. 408 (Fausboll, p. 383, Vol. III), Cowell, No. 535.
2. Ibid., No. 373 (Fausboll III, p. 216).
3. Fausboll, V, p. 37.
4. Cowell, No. 514.
5. Ibid., No. 466.
6. Ibid., No. 388.
7. Ibid., No. 543 (Faus. VI, pp. 180-181).
8. Ibid., No. 481 (Faus. IV, p. 253).
9. Ibid., No. 450 (Faus. IV, p. 67).
10. Ibid., (Faus. IV, p. 250).
11. Fausboll, III, p. 149.
12. Ibid., See also IV, p. 250, V, p. 417.

by different names, *e.g.*, the goat-herd was known as *ajapala*,[1] the cow-herd as *Gopalaka* or *gopa*[2] and the cattle-herd known as *pasupalaka.*[3] The pasture-ground was known as *Gocara-Bhumi.*[4]

That the cattle were looked upon as a highly esteemed form of wealth can be best judged from the fact that the *Jataka* tells us of thieves stealing a she-goat in the night for eating its flesh,[5] and for the protection of these animals, special type of servants were engaged.

Trade

In the kingdom of Kasi, trade was carried on briskly by land as well as by sea. Baranasi was undoubtedly the chief centre of industrial and commercial activities, through which passed the great trade-routes to and from all directions on land and water.

Inland Trade

Baranasi was the great centre of trade through which passed the great trade-routes from east to west (*pubbantato aparantagamanamagam*).[6] Among the contemporary business centres, mention may be made of Campa in the east which was joined with Mithila. Banaras had busy trade relations with Ujjeni.[7] This route possibly passed through Kosambi and the Ceti country, for, there is mention of a high way from Banaras to Ceti.[8] One highway went through Kasi to Rajagaha,[9] and another to Savatthi.[10] The *Dhammapadatthakatha*[11] informs us that there was a direct trade between Banaras and Takkasila and Banaras and Savatthi.[12] From Veranja to

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1. Fausboll, IV, p. 250.
2. Ibid., IV, p. 251; V.p. 417.
3. Ibid., V, p., 417.
4. Ibid., IV, p. 251.
5. Ibid., p. 250.
6. Ibid., III, p. 502 (J. No. 432).
7. Ibid., II, p. 248.
8. Ibid., I, pp. 253-54.
9. *Vinaya* I, p. 212.
10. Ibid., II, p. 10, *Mahavamsa.*
11. *Dh.A.*, I, 10 123.
12. Ibid., II, p. 429.

Banaras there seem to have been two routes : one rather circuitous, passing through Soreyya, and the other direct, crossing the Ganga at Payagatittha. From Banaras the road continued to Vaisali.[1]

Riverine Traffic and Sea-Trade

In the *Jatakas* we notice some references with regard to the riverine and sea-trade. The *Buddhist texts* and the *Jatakas* in particular mention well-known sea-ports like Bharukaccha (Broach)[2] and the sea-board of Savira[3] on the west of Kavirapattana,[4] and the less-known ones like Karambiya,[5] Gambhira[6] and Seriva[7] on the south and east. The great rivers also served as commercial routes. The river Ganga must have helped a lot in serving as a commercial route.

Merchants of Kasi used to carry on trade with distant countries through sea-routes. That the sea-faring activities were common, can be noticed in the *Sankha Jataka* which mentions a ship-wrecked man on a voyage from Banaras to *Suvannabhumi* or Lower Burma in search of wealth.[8] In the *Silanisamsa Jataka*[9] we see a sea-faring nymph as helmsman bringing shipwrecked people from off the sea to Banaras by river. The *Pandara Jataka* refers to five hundred trading folk of Banaras sailing in the ship, and they are said to have reached out of sight of land and were wrecked in mid ocean with the result that only one of them survived and reached the port of Karambiya.[10] Elsewhere, reference is made to sea-trading men of Banaras and of the son of the Treasurer of Banaras proceeding hurriedly to the sea-port on hearing the news of the arrival of a large ship.[11] Further, the

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1. Samnt. I, 201.
2. Fausboll, III, pp. 126-27, 188, 190; IV, pp. 137-142.
3. Ibid., III, p. 470.
4. Ibid., IV, p. 238.
5. Ibid., V, p. 75.
6. Ibid., I, p. 239.
7. Ibid., p. 111.
8. Ibid., II, pp. 112-14.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., V, p. 75 (No. 518).
11. Cowell, No. 4.

Dhammaddhaja-Jataka also refers to the merchants of Kasi going on a voyage and the ship being wrecked in the midst of the sea.[1]

What commodities were exported from and imported to the kingdom of Kasi in ancient times, we do not wholly know. In the Buddhist literature there is frequent mention of carvans leaving Kasi to travel for trade. In the *Sutta Nipata commentary* we read of a trader of Banaras who went with five-hundred carts to a frontier country and brought sandal wood.[2] In another text we read of a trader who proceeded to Sravasti with 500 carts full of red cloth, but could not cross the river as it was in flood and had to stay on the near side to sell his goods.[3] Horse dealers from northern districts used to bring horses to Banaras for sale.[4] The merchants of Banaras used to go about hawking goods which were carried by donkeys.[5]

It is well-known that Banaras was famous for its clothes widely known as Kasi robes which were highly esteemed as gifts, each robe being valued at one hundred thousand.[6] The contemporary kingdoms of Kasi were known for other commodities, as for example, Gandhara was known for its woollen rugs,[7] Kadumbara (in the Punjab)[8] was known for its linen clothes and the needle-work and steel-work of Dasanna or the later *Vidisa* was sufficiently famous.[9] Kasi, thus, most possibly had entered into trade relations with these far-famed commercial centres of India. The *Jataka* informs us that Sindh horses were available in Banaras and were used as the royal horses of ceremony.[10]

[1] Cowell, No. 384 (Faus. III, p. 267).
[2] *Sutta A.*, Vol. II, p. 523.
[3] *Dh.A.*, Vol. III, p. 429.
[4] Fausboll, II p. 221; See also J. Nos. 5, 354.
[5] Ibid., p. 109; See also *DhA.*, Vol. I, p. 123.
[6] Ibid., V, pp. 377-78; VI, pp. 151, 450; Lalit (S.B.E.), Vol. XI, p. 92; See also Faus. II, pp. 443-49, 141; III, p. 10.
[7] Fausboll, V, p. 500-G.
[8] Ibid., G. 1801.
[9] Ibid., III, pp. 282, 337ff.
[10] Ibid., II, p. 328.

The reputation of Kasi as a great centre of trade spread far and wide owing to the silk-cloth and scent that were manufactured there. It was in no way less known for its perfumes (*vilepana*)[1] or ungent.

Transport

The growth of trade and commerce especially depends upon the availability of rapid and cheap means of transport and communication; carts, however, were the sole resort of the trading class. As means of transport we have reference to carts drawn by animals on land, simple boats on rivers and well-constructed ships on the sea.

We have reference to roads known as *Magga,*[2] *Patha,*[3] *Mahamagga,*[4] *Vithi*[5] etc., which may suggest the existence of well-constructed roads. However, the conditions of these roads, from the point of view of security, do not seem to have been satisfactory. They lay through forests and deserts beset with many dangers: dangers from draught, famine, wild beasts, robbers, demons, poisonous trees etc. A *Jataka* refers to a sandy track through which the merchants of Banaras used to pass with their carvans. The route was through wilderness owing to which travellers had to keep the necessary ingredients with them, like the fire-wood, water, oil, rice, etc., and they all travelled only by night to avoid the hot weather.[6] These roads were so complicated that a slight negligence in watching the movement of the starts resulted in the loss of correct routes.[7] Elsewhere, we are also told that the highway which was much frequented was at times blocked by wild animals like tigers, bufflalos etc.[8] The *Culladh Anuggaha Jataka* informs us that the road from Takkasila to Baranasi was laid waste by a wild elephant and was also infested with robbers.[9] Likewise, we are

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1. Fausboll, V, p. 151; I, p. 355, *Ang.* 332.
2. Ibid., III, pp. 49, 219; IV. p. 256.
3. Ibid., V, p. 266.
4. Ibid., VI, p. 179.
5. Ibid , III, p, 282; V.p. 44.
6. Cowell, No. 2.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., No. 80.
9. Ibid., No. 374.

told in the *Gumbiya Jataka* that the Bodhisatta, the son of a merchant who set out from Banaras with his merchandise on five hundred carts for trading purposes, gives a signal of caution to the men of his carvan on the high-road, at the entrance of a forest for the ensuing dangers. "Lo ! on this road are leaves, flowers, fruit and the like, that are poisonous. In eating see that you take no strange food, without first asking me about it : for demons set in the road baskets of fresh rice and various sweet wild fruits, and sprinkle poison over them. Be sure not to eat of them without my consent".[1]

The *Jatakas* refer to carts drawn by oxen. These carts were generally termed as *Yana*[2] which were the ordinary *Sakatas*.[3] The *Sakatas* are, however, distinguished from pleasure cart or luxurious vehicles known as *Sukha-Yana*.[4] Litters or palanquins known as *sivikas* were used by royalty and the wealthy.[5]

The great river Ganga passing through the heart of Kasi kingdom furnished means of communication and some facilities of transport. There were fording places where the river was crossed by boats-men.[6] People who used to make a living by conveying people across the rivers were known as *Navikas*. The remuneration that a *Navika* got through his work was termed as *vetana*.[7]

From the *Jataka* evidence it appears that the merchants of Kasi also used maritime transport which was not devoid of its own perils.[8] These voyages were undertaken for purposes of trade.[9] The following verses in the *Sudhabhojana Jataka* allude to the adventures of far-trading merchants going across the sea with a hope of seeking treasure :

"Merchants through hope seek treasure far and wide,

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1. Cowell, No., 366 (Faus. III, p. 200).
2. Fausboll, IV, p. 208.
3. Ibid., p. 458.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 378.
6. Ibid., III, p. 230; IV, p. 478.
7. Ibid., III, p. 230.
8. Cowell, No. 442.

Fausboll, V, p. 75 (J.No. 518).

And taking ship on ocean's bellows ride.
There sometimes do they sink to rise no more,
Or else escaping their lost wealth deplore."[1]

The movement of the ships depended upon the wind.[2] The *Samkha Jataka* refers to a huge ship, eight hundred cubits in length, six hundred cubits in width, twenty fathoms in depth. It had three masts (*kupa*) of Sapphire, with oars and rudders (*Phiyaritani*).[3] It had cordage (*yottam*) of gold and silver sails (*sitom*).[4] The ship was intended to carry the *Brahmana Sankha* to the city of Molini (Banaras) as his ship sprang a leak and wrecked in the midst of the sea. As a consequence of that tragedy, the poor Brahmana kept on swimming for seven days, after which he was rescued by a ship. We are told that *Sankha* proceeded to *Suvannabhumi* in a ship filled with merchandise to gain wealth.[5]

Ship-building was well advanced. There was a town of carpenters near Banaras who are spoken of as going to the forest and building a ship with wooden planks. We are further told of their leaving the town and sailing to an island that lay in the midst of the sea.[6]

Transport was the main source of obstruction to the easy exchange of goods.

Transaction

In ancient times, buying and selling were done directly for the most part between the producer and the consumer. Possibly every village was self-sufficient and the village produce was sold in village market for local consumption. The surplus, if any, was sent to towns or trade-centres through the hands of middle-men known as *Vanijas*.

1. Fausboll, IV, p. 401.
2. Ibid., p. 20.
3. Ibid., p. 21.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., pp. 19-20 (J.No. 442).
6. Ibid., p. 159.

Baranasi was known for its industries located mostly in the proximity of the city. Sometimes, there were streets fixed for certain artisans and tradesmen. In the *Kasara Jataka* we have reference to an ivory-bazar or the street of the Ivory workers.[1] Elsewhere, we have reference to Surachana (*surapana*) or Surageham, the place of the liquor-shops in the kingdom of Kasi.[2] A *Jataka* refers to a wine-merchant (*panagarika*) approaching the Kasi King.[3] The *Kumbha Jataka* also refers to the discovery of wine which came to be known as *Sura* and *Varuni* after the names of *Sura*, a forester of Banaras and *Varuna*, an asectic.[4]

Within the town of Baranasi we notice the existence of different establishments of different products. We have also reference to slaughter-houses,[5] where the flesh of animals was sold. The *Jatakas* refer to shops in the city of Banaras.[6] In the shops articles of different types were displayed for sale.

Exchange of commodities was also carried out by hawkers. In the *Suci Jataka*, the son of a smith goes to a village and then standīng at the door of a house says : "Who will buy for money from my hand a needle of this kind ?"[7] Similarly, in the *Sujata Jataka*, the daughter of a fruiterer, with a basket of jujubes on her head cries : "Jujubes, ripe Jujubes, who'll buy my jujubes "?[8] Allusion is also made to a trader's barrow[9] on which the merchants or the sellers used to carry their goods from one place to another. As already stated, the horse-dealers used to come to Baranasi to sell their horses.[10]

Exchange

The exchange between the seller and the purchaser was a "free" bargain in which there were no fixed prices. The producers entered free competitions.

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1. Cowell, No, 221; See Faus. J. I. p. 320.
2. Ibid.. No. 459; Faus. IV, pp. 115, 249.
3. Fausboll, V, p. 13.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., III, p. 100.
6. Ibid., p. 199, IV, p. 488, III, p. 406.
7. Ibid., III, p. 282.
8. Ibid., p. 21.
9. Ibid., IV, p. 333; (*Mahamora J.*)
10. Cowell, No. 4.

In the *Jatakas* we may also note some practices of a more developed competition known to-day as "dealing in futures" or "cornering".[1] Thus, a daring and adventurous young man of Banaras, receiving the intimation of the arrival of a large ship in port, proceeded to buy it up whole-sale on credit and thus established a "corner" in foreign produce which sent us prices to his immense profits.[2] On a previous occasion, the same young man sent up the price of grass by a "limitation of output" in agreement with other "producers".[3]

Hagglling over prices was not uncommon in the kingdom of Kasi. The king of Kasi had a valuer through whom he used to purchase required commodities. The valuer used to value horses, elephants and jewels, gold ard the like; and he used to pay over to the owners of the goods the proper price, as he fixed it.[4]

The *Jatakas* refer to prices being fixed in terms of money, but references to goods exchanged between parties are not unknown.[5] Barter was thus quite in vogue; though it was to a great extent replaced by the use of a metal currency.

Coinage

Money, which serves as a medium of exchange was in use in India for a very long time.[6] The *Jatakas* frequently refer to the use of coins as currency in exchange. The popular coin which seems to have been in vast circulation in the kingdom of Kasi and elsewhere was technically known as *Kahapana*. Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly observes :

"The Buddhist literature reveals a society having the full use and enjoyment of plentiful coinage. The worth of every marketable commodity, from a dead mouse and a day at the festival, upto all kinds of fees, pensions, fixed loans, stored treasure and income,

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1. See Ratilal Mehta, p. 233.
2. Cowell, No. 4 (Faus. I, pp. 121-22).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., No. 5 (Faus. I, p. 124).
5. Fausboll, I, pp. 103, 109, 377-78; II, p. 247.
6. *A.I.N.* pp. 167ff.

is stated in figures of a certain coin and its fraction and that is either explicitly stated or implied to be *Kahapana*[1]".

We have mention of the following classes of coins in the *Jatakas* which were in circulation in the kingdom of Kasi :

Nikkhas : These coins seem to have been gold coins, as expressly stated in some of the *Jatakas*.[2]

Hiranna And Savanna : In the *Jataka* stories we meet with an expression in which these two words are associated together.[3] This type of coin was common throughout India as they are also mentioned in the accounts of certain localities of different kingdoms, such as Sravasti,[4] Pancala,[5] Jetuttara,[6] in the kingdom of Sivi, etc. According to Dr. Bhandarkar, *savarana* and *hiranya*, when mentioned together, stand not for "gold" but for a "type of gold coins".[7]

Suvanna-Masaka : We also have reference to *Suvanna-Masaka* as a gold coin which was of a smaller denomination and was in circulation not only in the kingdom of Kasi[8] but elsewhere as well.[9] *Masa* was a unit in the weight system of Indian coinage which differed in weight according as the standard of gold coinage.[10]

We thus notice three types of gold coins current in Buddhist India which were in free circulation among the people of Kasi Janapada. *Masaka* was of the lowest value; *Suvanna* of a higher denomination; and *Nikkha* was of a still higher denomination.

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1. *J.R.E.S.*, 1901, p. 318; See also *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, p. 876.
2. Fausboll, IV, p. 227.
3. Ibid., p. 186.
4. Ibid., p. 69.
5. Ibid., p. 462.
6. Ibid,, p. 493.
7. *A.I.N.P.* p. 51; Cf. *Manu.* VIII, 137.
8. Fausboll, IV, pp. 106-107.
9. Ibid., V, p. 164.
10. See *Artha*, II, 19; 5 seeds of *Gunja*=1 *Suvannamasa*,

Kahapana (Skt. Karsa-pana)

The *Jatakas* most frequently mention a class of coins known as *Kahapanas*,[1] as already stated. On the authority of *Samantapasadika*, Dr. Bhandarkar has tried to show that *Kahapana* was of three varieties, *viz*., of gold, silver and copper,[2] though gold *Kahapana* is very seldom referred to. In the *Gamani-Canda Jataka*, the king of Banaras fixes the prices of a pair of oxen and a horse at 24 and 1000 *kahapanas* respectively,[3] which, according to some scholars, they must be silver *kahapanas* "as copper or gold *kahapanas* would be too low or too high a price to pay for those animals".[4]

Besides the much popular coins already mentioned, we also have reference to various other token coins in the *Jataka* period, which were not so widely in circulations as the standard coins like *Nikkhas*, *Hiranna* and *Suvanna* and *Masaka* Thus, we have *kahapana*, *addha-kahapana*, *masaka* and *addha-masaka*,[5] which all seem to be the lowest money-piece of the day.

Banking and Loans

There was no bank-system in ancient India, but the instrument of credit seems to have been an indispensable factor in business even in these by-gone days. Banaras was known for its *Setthis*, the rich men, hoarding wealth worth crores of rupees.[6] Sometimes the nature and amount of the hoarded wealth was inscribed on golden plates. Thus, Kanka-kumara, the son of a wealthy Brahmana of Banaras, who inherited the property of his father, got a golden plate in his hand, and read upon the golden plate these lines inscribed by his kinsmen of former days, "so much of the property gained by such an one, so much by another".[7]

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1. Fausboll, III, p. 448; IV. p. 378. See also Fausboll, I, pp. 112, 195, 478 483; II. pp. 20, 247, 305, 424; IV, pp. 138, 449; VI, pp. 343, 404,
2. *A.I.N.*, p, 81.
3. Fausboll, III, pp. 305-6 (Cowell, No. 257).
4. Cf. *A.I.N.*, p. 78; Cf. Pran Nath, 1929, p. 109.
5. Fausboll, III, p. 448.
6. Ibid., III, p. 129; IV, pp, 7, 237; I. pp. 351, 466.
7. Ibid., IV. p, 7; 488; VI, p. 29.

We sometimes come across cases when money was deposited with a friend. In the *Sattubhasta Jataka* we are told of a Brahmana depositing a thousand pieces in a Brahmana family, but on his return he gets his daughter in marriage instead of his thousand coins, as the money was spent and could not be paid.[1] This course of depositing money was, however, not safe. The king of Banaras is, therefore, advised never to trust to another a loan or deposit.[2] The *Kuta-Yanija-Jataka*[3] gives an interesting account of two traders of Banaras, one of the town and the other of a village. The village tradesman deposited with the townsman, his fellow trader, five hundred plough shares in good faith. But on his return when he asked for his plough shares—the man told him that the mice had devoured them. The matter was, however, settled by the king's Judge.

There are further instances to show that some forms of instruments of credit did prevail in those days. For example, a young man of Banaras goes to the port and buys the cargo on credit by depositing his signet-ring as security.[4]

Interest

In India, the idea of *Rnam* or debt can be dated back even to the Rgvedic time. It is repeatedly mentioned in the Vedic texts,[5] the law-books[6] and even in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya.[7] The *Jatakas* have enough material to show that loans were quite common in India in those days. In one *Jataka*, a man of a certain village of Kasi tells his father that a debtor of his in a certain village should be approached in time, for if he dies, the man will never pay at all.[8] In the *Ruru Jataka* we are told of a debtor of Banaras who being dunned by his creditors on his failure to repay, it,[9] committed suicide by throwing himself into the Ganga.

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1. Fausboll, III, p. 342.
2. Ibid., V, p. 116.
3. Cowell, No. 218.
4. Ibid.,
5. Vedic Index I, pp. 109-110.
6. *C.H.I.* I, pp. 287ff; *J.B.O.R.S.*, VI, pp. 117ff.
7. *Arth.* III, p. 11.
8. Fausboll, IV, p. 45.
9. Ibid., p. 256

Similarly, in the *Bhuridatta Jataka* we have the account of a poor Brahmana of Banaras who had got deeply into debt and being pressed by his creditors he proceeded to the forest to end his life.[1] In some *Jataka*, the character of the money-lender as profit-mongering, is also hinted at; hyporcitical ascetics are accused of practising this profession.[2]

Besides getting a general information about the custom of taking loans in those days, we do not know anything about the interest upon loans. But it may be suggested that the rates of interest were high, for, we notice the embarrassed condition of debtors (*dharanako*) in certain *Jatakas* to the extent of even committing suicide. Thus, a bankrupt invites his creditors to bring their debt sheets for settlement, only to drown himself before their very eyes.[3] Another debtor fled to a forest.[4] In the *Samudda-Vanija Jataka* we are informed that the carpenters of Banaras who had become debtors to the people of Banaras, being upbraided by them decided to go into some foreign land and ultimately went to some island.[5]

The debt sometimes runs through the life of the borrower and is inherited by his heirs.[6] In some *Jataka*, a forester of Banaras is said to be paying his old debt with the money that he obtained from selling elephant-tusks.[7]

Weight and Measures

We have reference to some of the weights and measures commonly used by the people. Among them mention my be made of the following:—

Nali: It was a measure for weighing food-stuffs or grain.

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1. Fausboll, VI, p. 178.
2. Ibid., IV, p. 184.
3. Ibid., p. 256.
4. Ibid., p. 178.
5. Ibid., p. 159.
6. Ibid., VI, p. 193.
7. Cowell, No. 72.

Bilarikasiya, the rich merchant of Banaras, directs his maid-servant to give *Brahamanas*, a measure apiece of rice in the husk.[1]

Chatubhaga[2] *and Accharam* :[3] These are the weights for weighing or measuring the quantity of liquids.

Among measures of length or distance, we have references to *Yatthi*,[4] *Kukku*,[5] *Usabha*[6] and *Gavuta*.[7]

Art and Craft

The *Jatakas* are the best testimony of the localisation of particular kinds of handicrafts or industry in India in those days with particular reference to the region of Baranasi. We notice a number of manufacturers, handicraftsmen and various other professions engaged in the production of material goods in the land of Kasi or Baranasi. The *Jatakas* reveal the existence of a number of professions and occupations exclusively in the kingdom of Kasi which may be mentioned as follows:—

Manufacturers : Banaras, in the *Jataka* period, had a variety of flourishing industries. Agriculture, which itself formed a distinct industry, provided much raw-material upon which depended the industrial production of a country. It is rightly remarked that "India was far ahead. in comparison with other countries of those times, in dexterity and skill, swiftness and delicacy of touch of her artisans".[8]

Textiles : Banaras had acquired great fame in ancient days for the special excellence of its ware—"Fine Kasi cloth, worth ten

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1. Fausboll, IV, p. 67.
2. Ibid., V, p. 385.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., IV, p. 21.
5. Ibid., III, p. 318.
6. Ibid., IV, p. 21.
7. Ibid., V, p. 356.
8. Ratilal Mehta, p. 194.

thousand pieces", had become a proverbial phrase.[1] It may also be mentioned that Kasi's contemporary kingdoms like *Gandhara* and *Kodumbara* were also known for manufacturing woollen clothes of great value.[2]

Silk was mostly used by the royalty. The dress of the commoners were made of cotton. In the *Tundila Jataka* there is a mention of a cotton field near Banaras.[3] The preliminary processes of manufacturing cloth are nowhere mentioned. But it seems that it was mostly confined to domestic industries as the chief occupation of women, as a passage in the *Mugga-Pakka Jataka* suggests :

> "As when the lady at her loom sits weaving all the day,
> Her task grows ever less and less-so waste our lives away."[4]

The *Hatthipala Jataka* alludes to the existence of weavers in Banaras.[5] They were known as *Pesakaras* or *Tantuvaya.*[6]

Gold-smiths : It is well-known that women-folk of India were too fond of ornaments. It necessarily implies the existence of goldsmith (*Suvarnakara*).[7] Unfortunately, there is not much information about the gold-smiths, living in the kingdom of Kasi, but the shops of the gold-smiths are referred to in a *Jataka* where they are warned against gossip, drink and lewd company.[8] The goldsmith also repaired ornaments. Kinnana, the wife of the king of Banaras, being enquired of her ear-ring by the king, said that her ornament was with the gold-smith.[9]

Ivory-Work

The ivory-work had become such an important industry of Banaras in ancient times that there was a special locality of ivory-

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1. Fausboll II, p. 443; III, p. 10; V.p. 78; VI, pp. 49-50.
2. Ibid., VI., p. 500.
3. Ibid., III, p. 286.
4. Ibid., VI, p. 26.
5. Ibid., IV, p. 475.
6. Ibid., I, p. 356.
7. Ibid., V, p. 438.
8. Ibid., IV, p. 223.
9. Ibid., V, p. 438.

workers in the city (*Dantakaravithi*) where they used to live and carry on their trade.[1] In the *Sitavanaga Jataka* we are told of ivory being worked into diverse forms and shapes.[2] Ivory was sold at a high price. In the same *Jataka* a living elephant's tusk is said to be worth a great deal more than a dead one's. There is also the reference to a king of saw (*kharakakaca*) by which the tusks were cut.[3] It was possibly the main tool of the ivory workmen. There is reference to workers of ivory in the ivory bazar of Banaras, making bangles and all manner of ivory trinkets.[4]

Pottery

The potters were known as *Kumbhakaras*. In the suburb of Banaras used to dwell the families of potters.[5] A potter is referred to as supporting his wife and children bv his handicraft.[6] They made various types of bowls, vessels, etc., even for the king. King Dalhadhamma of Banaras asks the potter to make vessels for him, seeing that the vessels are not sufficient in his court.[7] The art of pottery had become so popular that it came to be patronised even by the kings of certain kingdoms, for, we get the reference to king's potter (*Raja-kumbhakara*),[8] preparing vessels with a lump of clay on the wheel by turning it.[9] The earthen pots were baked in the fire for which the potter had to purchase fuel. We have also the reference to the king's potter of Baranasi who was on the look out for fuel to fire bowls for the palace.[10]

Carpentry

Workers in wood and carpentry are frequently referred to in the *Jatakas* in connection with the stories of Kasi kings. The

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1. Fausboll, V, p. 291.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., I, p. 321, See also VI, p. 261-
4. Cowell, No. 221.
5. Fausboll, p. 375.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 385.
8. Ibid., V. p. 290.
9. Ibid., p. 291.
10. Cowell, No. 4.

Samudda-Vanija Jataka mentions a great town of carpenters, containing a thousand families near Varanasi.[1] They are professed to have made beds, chains, house, etc.[2] They are also referred to as going to the forest, cutting down trees and then building ships for launching in the river.[3] In the *Phandana Jataka* we have the account of a Brahmana carpenter living in a village of carpenters near Banaras who used to gain his livelihood by bringing wood from the forest and making carts.[4] The woods were brought in waggons (*ynakam*). The main implements of a carpenter were his adze and hatchet.[5] The axe or hatchet was also known as *Kuthari*.[6] The carpenter's work was not confined to manufacture of furniture, ships or chariots alone, but the superstructure of most of the houses made of wood were the sole work of carpenters. In the *Kusanali Jataka*, the king of Banaras directs the carpenters to put in a round pillar in his dwelling to support thereof as the lone pillar supporting it had grown shaky.[7] For the upkeep of their family, the carpenters of Banaras would go up the river in a vessel and enter the forest, from where they would bring beams and planks and put them all aboard in order to build houses. They then received their wages and went back again for more materials for building purposes and in this way they made their livelihood.[8]

The above account of *Alinacitta Jataka* is the most illuminating instance of a co-operative work of the carpenters of Baranasi living together in a localised village known after them as *Vaddhakigamas*.

Workers-in-Leather

The leather-worker was known as *Cammakara*.[9] He was assigned the task of making leather sacks, leather robes and straps.

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1. Fausboll, IV, pp. 159, 207.
2. Ibid., p. 159.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 207.
5. Ibid., p. 208.
6. Ibid., See also p. 344.
7. Cowell, No. 121.
8. Ibid., No. 156 (Faus. II, p. 18).
9. Fausboll, V, p. 45.

shoes, shields, etc.[1] He was possibly also known as *hathakars* who is mentioned as making shoes according to the skin.[2] He could also supply royalty with shoes richly wrought with varied thread.[3]

Workers-in-Bamboo

The worker-in-bamboo was known as *Velukara*,[4] who used to go to the forest to collect bamboo clump which he possibly cut with his knife. The Basket-maker was known as *Nalakara*.[5] There is mention of parasol of leaves (*parnnachattan*)[6] palmfan (*talavantam*).[7] In the *Kusa Jataka* we are told that the palmfans were the sole work of *Nalakaras*. The workmanship of some bamboo-workers was highly appreciated even by the kings who presented a thousand pieces of money in appreciation of their craftsmanship.[8] The best example of their skill and workmanship can be seen in a description of a palm-leaf-fan, on which a white umbrella was depicted and, with a banquet-hall as the subject, among a variety of other forms, was represented a standing figure of a beautiful queen.[9]

Black-Smith

In the *Mahapingala Jataka*, reference is made to the black-smith (*Kammara*) as hitting his blows with his hammer. This action possibly points to the actual process of his work in moulding, making or sharpening certain iron implements.[10]

The profession of black-smiths had tended to be hereditary, as it descended from father to son. In some *Jataka*, we have reference to a village of smiths containing a thousand houses in the kingdom of Kasi and another village of smiths not very far from

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1. Fausboll, V, p. 373; III, p. 116.
2. Ibid., IV, p. 172.
3. Ibid., p. 379; VI, p. 218.
4. Ibid., p. 251.
5. Ibid., p. 318; See Cowell. No. 257.
6. Ibid., III, p. 80.
7. Ibid., p. 283; VI, p. 218.
8. Ibid., p. 326.
9. Ibid., p. 444.
10. Cowell, No. 240.

the city of Banaras.[1] They also seem to have formed themselves into a guild with a leader (*Jattha-Kammaro*) at their head, who was a favourite of the king (*Rajavallabho*).[2]

The smiths used to manufacture razors, axes, plough shares and goods which were largely purchased by the villagers coming from alround. Some of the smiths were known for the workmanship of needles and to sell their wares they moved from village to village like hawkers in search of buyers, speaking very high of the qualities and craftsmanship of their own wares, as for example :

> "Quickly threaded, smooth and straight, polished with emery,
> Sharp of point and delicate, needles ! who will buy".[3]

The smiths had also to manufacture goods of different kinds, according to the needs of the time, such as axes, spades, augers, hammers, instruments for cutting bamboos, grass-cutters, iron-staffs, pegs, iron three-pronged forks[4] etc.

Ornament Maker

The *Dhammaddhaja Jataka* mentions the name of Chattapani who was the maker of ornaments for the king of Banaras.[5]

Minor Occupations

Flower Gatherers : The *Jatakas* refer to flower-gatherers as living in the kingdom of Kasi. They are described as going to forest to collect flowers which they later sold in the markets. They were also dealing in flowering plants.[6] They are nevertheless the same as the garland-makers of modern times.

Mowers : Baranasi was one of the leading centres of trade and commerce, where merchants used to come from foreign countries for

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1. Cowell, No. 240.
2. Ibid.
3. Fausboll, III, p. 282.
4. Ibid., V, p. 45.
5. Cowell, No. 220.
6. Ibid., No. 4.

selling their wares or dealing in other commodities. Cattle-rearing, which was undoubtedly one of the main occupations of the common people, requires a good deal of supply of fodder to cattles. In the *Chullaka-Setthi Jataka* we have the reference to five-hundred movers in the vicinity of the city-gate of Banaras, selling their grasses in bundles.[1]

The grass-mower's main implements were his sickle, pole and the rope for binding the grass into bundles.[2]

Sooth-sayers : The *Jatakas* mentioned sooth-saying Brahamanas inhabiting the kingdom of Kasi. We are told that the king of Banaras enquired about the destiny of his new-born child from eight hundred Brahmanas.[3] Similarly, in the *Mugapakkha Jataka* we are told that the king of Banaras on the day of naming his son honoured the Brahamanas who read the different marks and enquired if there was any danger threatening his new-born son.[4]

Drummers : The drummers figure in the *Jatakas* only on occasions of festivals at Baranasi or in its suburb and villages. We hear too much of festivals at Banaras and naturally, therefore, on such occasions the drummers are freely referred to as playing upon their drums to the delight of the crowds of holiday-makers. By this, they earned money to support themselves.[5]

Conch-blowers : Like drummers, the conch-blowers also appear on festive occasions when they earn a good deal of money by their conch-blowing.[6]

Musicians : The profession of musicians seems to have been of a hereditary character, for we have mention of a musician's family in which the son also masters all the branches of music and thus

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1. Cowell, No. 4.
2. Fausboll, III, p. 129.
3. Cowell, No. 55.
4. Fausboll, VI, p. 3.
5. Cowell, No. 59.
6. Ibid., No. 60.

gains for himself the all-India glory.[1] Banaras, known for its festivals on holidays, attracted a number of persons of different tastes and likings. In a *Jataka*, a musician was fetched on hire on such an occasion. Guttila, the famous musician of Banaras had received patronage from the king even and had thus entered into the royal service.

Cook : The cook is referred as being employed in the private service of rich householders to prepare dishes of various types and to look after the affairs of the kitchen.[2]

Foresters : In the *Jataka*, the foresters are referred to as living in a village at the entrance to the forest and forming a band of five hundred foresters. The leader of this group, we are told, was hired to guide men passing through forest,[3] particularly the carvan merchants, so that they might not be misled or misdirected.

Gardener : The gardeners seem to have constituted a poor class in the society of the *Jataka* age. They are referred to as making their livelihood by selling the proceeds of their gardens which they grew, such as pot-herbs, pumpkins, gourds, cucumbers and other vegetables.[4] We have also reference to royal parks and gardens of the king and princes of Banarasi which were maintained and looked after by the king's gardeners employed for such purposes.

Green-grocer :[5] A green-grocer used to make a living by the sale of various roots, vegetables and pumpkins and the like,[6] and like hawkers moved from place to place and door to door to sell his goods. In the *Sujata Jataka*, the daughter of a fruiterer sells jujubes.[7]

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1. Cowell, No. 243.
2. Ibid., No. 274.
3. Ibid., No. 265.
4. Ibid., No. 70.
5. Ibid., No. 102.
6. Ibid., No. 217.
7. Fausboll, III, p. 21.

Lawyer : In the *Gagga Jataka*, a Brahmana of Kasi is referred to as a lawyer by calling.[1]

Fruit-seller : In the *Amba Jataka* we have mentioned of a person going to the forest to procure mango-fruits and carrying them in the baskets hung from his poles. He would then sell them for maintaining his wife and child.[2]

Corn-factor : We have reference to corn-factor. In one *Jataka* we have the mention of a family of corn factors living in Banaras. This seems to have been a hereditary occupation; for, we hear of *Boddhisaita* born in the family of a corn-factor gaining his living by selling corn.[3]

Barber : In the *Cull-Sutasoma Jataka*, we have a mention of a barbar (*Kappaka*) being summoned by the king of Banaras to be shown the grey hair on his head. The barber besides shaving the beard and trimming the hair, also plucked the grey hair at times with the help of his tweezers.[5]

Doctors : In ancient times the profession of doctors was highly valued in view of the fact that their help was specially sought on battle-fields to dress-up the wounded warriors. It it for this particular reason that we find reference to royal physicians in almost all the important political treatises of ancient India. In the *Visavanta Jataka* there is a reference to doctors in the city of Baranasi who were skilled in the treatment of snake bites. The *Jataka* clearly mentions it as a source of livelihood.[5] Whenever there was a case of snake-bite, the doctor was immediately called upon. Thus, a countryman of Banaras who was bitten by a snake was attended to by a doctor who was quickly fetched by his relatives.

It appears that in the kingdom of Kasi and elsewhere, snake-bites were cured either by the application of antidotes or by some

1. Cowell, No. 155.
2. Fausboll, IV, p. 201.
3. Ibid., III, p. 198.
4. Ibid., V. p. 177.
5. Cowell, No. 69.

witchery "which could have the snake caught and make it suck its own poison out of the wound".[1]

In the *Kamanita Jataka* we have reference of a Brahmana physician attending upon the king of Banaras who was suffering from dysentery, his heart becoming hot and blood disordered. Private physicians were paid their fees when called upon to attend the patients. Before prescribing any medicine, the doctor also used to make enquiries about the symptoms of disease and such other things. Sakka, who was attending the ailing king of Banaras in the guise of a Brahmana physician asks the latter : "Tell me the symptoms of your disease, and how it came about—what you have eaten or drunken, to bring it on, or what you have heard or seen".[2]

In the *Sama Jataka* we have an interesting account of a doctor who treated a rich man for a disease of his eyes but was not paid his fees. The doctor, being offended administered a wrong medicine and made one of his eyes blind.[3]

A doctor's standard of living depended upon his income from practice. The *Saliya Jataka* mentions about a poor doctor who had no practice.[4] In royal palaces, there were physicians specially appointed by the king as his personal physicians. Such doctors are shown as attending upon the king.[5]

Devil-Doctor : The devil-doctor (*Bhutavejjo*) mentioned in some *Jataka* was called to dispell the fear of devils by uttering spells.[6]

Snake-charmers : We have reference to snake-charmers making their living by exhibiting snakes which they sometimes laid hold of by the tail and then by throat, and tied round their necks.[7] In some *Jataka*, a snake-charmer trained a monkey, made him swallow an

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1. Cowell, No. 69.
2. Ibid.. No. 228.
3. Ibid, No. 116.
4. Fausboll, III, p. 202.
5. Ibid., p. 337.
6. Ibid., p. 511.
7. Cowell, No. 86.

antidote and thus making a snake to play with the monkey, he gained his livelihood in that way.[1]

The snake-charmers generally roamed from place to place, demonstrating their art and thus earning their livelihood. But they gained a lot only on festive occasions.[2]

Acrobats : Like snake-charmers, the acrobats living in the kingdom of Kasi also used to travel about, exhibiting their skills. The Javelin dance was quite a favourite item in their performance. The javelins were set up in a row and the acrobat gave out the dance through the lot.[3] It was quite a risky display. In the *Dubbaca Jataka*, we are told that an acrobat who attempted to dance through the five jevelins set in one row impaled himself on the fifth and died.[4] The acrobats were a poor people who also used to lived by begging.[5]

Dancing-girls : The existence of dancing girls in the kingdom of Kasi or in the city of Banaras is well attested by the *Jatakas* which mention them as living by their clever art of dance, song and music.[6] They were sometimes called by kings to train up young princes in sexual art. In a *Jataka*, the king of Banaras asks a certain dancing girl to allure the crown-prince who lacked all sense of pleasures and enjoyments.[7]

The art of singing and dancing was also a source of livelihood to many persons. We have reference to male-dancers (*Nato*) going to the cities and towns and earning their livelihood by singing and dancing.[8] Banaras, it seems, was the favourite resort of dancers, for, in the *Cullasutasona Jataka* we have reference to sixteen thousand dancing girls following Bodhisatta who had renounced the kingdom of Kasi.[9]

[1] Cwoell, Nos. 249, 290, 365, 488, etc. See Fausboll. IV, p. 308; III, p. 198.
[2] Fausboll, III, p. 198.
[3] Cowell, No. 116.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., No. 212.
[6] Ibid., No. 263.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Fausboll, III, p. 507.
[9] Ibid., V. p. 190.

Fishermen : In the *Jatakas*, we have mention of fishermen catching fishes from the rivers with the help of nets.[1] There was a certain village near Banaras where fishermen dwelt. Fishes were also caught with the help of hooks which were possibly made of iron and in which was concealed meat to attract fishes. River Ganga provided enough fishes.[2]

Hunters : Hunting was by no means an honourable occupation, though it was known in India since the dawn of Vedic civilisation. In the *Jataka* stories, hunters are quite frequently referred to as catching and killing animals and selling their flesh for living.[3] In the *Mamsa Jataka*, a deer-stalker goes to the city of Banaras with his cart loaded with meat for selling it.[4]

The hunters used to use various devices for entrapping animals. In the *Kurunga Jataka*, a village hunter of Banaras used to catch animals by building a platform in trees at the foot of which he found the tract of deer and to watch aloft for their coming to eat the fruits of the tree; when the deer came, he brought them down with a jevelin.[5] The hunters were also armed with bows,[6] spears and swords.[7]

Fowler : In the *Jatakas*, the fowlers are mentioned as catching birds of different species, such as quail, etc., with the help of their nets. The technique of catching birds is well related in the *Sammodamana Jataka*. A fowler goes to the forest of Banaras and imitates the note of a quail till the birds are drawn together, and then flinging his net over them, he whips the sides of the net together, so as to get them all huddled up in a heap. Afterwards, he crams them into his baskets and sells them for his living.[8] Sometimes, the fowler also trained a decoy partridge and taking

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1. Cowell, No. 34; See also No. 216.
2. Fausboll, III, p. 52.
3. Cowell, No. 21.
4. Fausboll. III, p. 49.
5. Cowell, No. 21,
6. Ibid., No. 222.
7. Fausboll, III, p. 185. See also VI, p. 71.
8. Cowell, No. 33.

it to the wood, caught all the other partridges that came nearby the cry of the tamed one.[1] Sometimes the quail catchers kept the birds with them and sold them only when they grew fat.[2] The birds were tamed by the householders. In some *Jataka* there is reference to a Banaras Brahmana who cared for a pair of young parrots which he obtained from a fowler.[3]

Labour

The majority of the people in India depended upon agriculture in ancient times with only a few persons engaged in productive labour and thus forming their own class of artisans and craftsmen. The *Jatakas* show that a considerable portion of labour was unproductive. There was no 'labour problem' as the petty manufacturers or artisans or even the agriculturists did not require any additional labour for the production of their goods. They were self-dependent in respect of labour. But in cities and towns we notice a regular serving class composed of all the elements of the population differing in point of race and professional work. The hired-labourers and slaves, constituting this particular class were known as *Kamakaras* and *Dasas*[4] respectively and laboured for others in return for some payment.[5]

The nature of the work which these labourers performed is not generally specified. At one place we read of a poor family, living a hard life on a workman's wages.[6] He goes to the house of a rich merchant of Baranasi and every day works meekly and heartily, without a thought of his own weariness.[7] Sometimes the payment was made in terms of kind, *i e.*, food. The queen-consort of the king of Mithila refers to her slaves, messengers and servants to whom she used to give food.[8]

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1. Fausboll, III, p. 64.
2. Cowell, No. 118.
3. Ibid., No. 198.
4. Fausboll, III, pp. 129, 257.
5. Ibid., pp. 326 & 444.
6. Ibid., p. 444.
7. Ibid., p. 445.
8. Ibid., IV, p. 320.

Women also used to gain their livelihood by working for hire. A woman of Banaras is referred to as making her living by carrying water.[1] Similarly, in the *Bahiya Jataka* we have the reference of a country woman who worked for hire.[2]

We have mention of the workers on farms. They laboured from morning till evening.[3] Only the hard-pressed persons who were born in poor families and had thus no resource to aspire to a higher status engaged in labour for wages. Bodhisatta who was born in a poor family made a living by working for wages with certain rich man of Banaras.[4]

Craft Guilds

The existence of guilds is proved beyond all doubts by the *Mugapalkha Jataka* where the king of Kasi is referred to as convening the eighteen guilds along with the four castes and his army.[5] The *Jatakas*, however, do not give us any clear idea as regards the character, constitution or organisation of these guilds or *Seniya*. The word *Seniya* is restricted to the craftsmen or the artisans, *i.e.*, those who were both the producers and the sellers of their own goods or articles. It is unfortunate that the *Jatakas* do not specifically mention any of the eighteen craft guilds existing in Kasi kingdom. They simply mention four guilds in the kingdom of Mithila which were organised in the form of a union, namely, "the wood workers, the smiths, the leather-workers, the painters and the rest expert in various crafts".[6]

The remarkable localization of industries was an important factor which greatly contributed to the organisation of particular branches of industry. In the Kasi kingdom these localisations are seen either inside the city of Banaras, or outside in close proximity. The localisation of these artisans and tradesmen can be well perceived in such tems as *dantakaravithi.*[7] (The street of

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1. Fausboll, II, p. 139.
2. Ibid., p. 108.
3. Ibid., IV, p. 114.
4. Ibid,, III, p. 406.
5. Ibid., VI, p. 22.
6. Ibid., p. 427.
7. Ibid., I, p. 320; II, p. 197

Ivory-workers), the *rajaka-vithi*[1] (the street of the dyers), the *tantavitatthanam* (the weavers' place),[2] etc.

Among the trades and crafts followed outside the town or in the vicinity of Banaras, mention may be made of a suburban village inhabited by the potters.[3] The village of carpenters "not far from Banaras",[4] etc. In the *Suci Jataka* we are told of two smiths, villages inside the kingdom of Kasi, situated very near to each other and one of which is said to have comprised a thousand huts. People came here from the villages around to have razors, axes, plough-shares and other goods made.[5]

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1. Fausboll, IV, p. 81.
2. Ibid., I, p. 356.
3. Ibid., III, p. 376.
4. Ibid., IV, pp, 29, 207.
5. Ibid., III, p. 281.

EDUCATION

—Takkasila
—Baranasi
—Tuition Fee
—Punishment
—Life
—College Hours
—Ideal Students
—Art of Writing
—Course of Study

CHAPTER VI

Education

THE *JATAKAS* throw new light upon some aspects of ancient Indian education. To whatsoever period the stories refer, it is certain that they give local colouring in their folk tales and give the social background reflecting the contemporary conditions of life.

SEATS OF LEARNING

Takkasila

Takkasila was the most famous seat of learning in ancient times. Owing to its far-famed reputation it attracted scholars from almost all parts of India. Kasi's cultural contact with Takkasila is well attested by the *Jatakas* which mention students flocking there from far off Banaras.[2] The *Maha-Dhamma-Pala Jataka* tells us that Dhammapala Kumara of the village Dhammapala in the kingdom of Kasi was sent by his father to study at Takkasila.[3] He is said to have studied with a world-famed teacher and became the chief pupil in a company of five hundred youths.[4] The *Duta Jataka* similarly, informs us that a certain Brahmana of a village in Kasi went to Takkasila and acquired learning and at the completion of his education took his teacher's leave and departed for soliciting alms to pay to his teacher's fees.[5]

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[1] The evidence of the *Jatakas* is generally taken to refer to the period from the time of the Buddha to that of Asoka, *i.e.*, approximately between the sixth and the third century B.C.

[2] Fausboll, V, p. 263, pp. 127-28; I, pp. 272, 285, 409; II, pp. 85, 87 etc.

[3] Ibid., IV, p. 50

[4] Ibid., V. pp. 127-28.

[5] Ibid., IV, p. 224.

It should be remembered that Kasi was not the only country from where students went to Takkasila for studies; but scholars from different and distant parts of India, such as Rajagaha,[1] Mithila,[2] Ujjeni,[3] Kosala[4], and Sivi,[5] and Kuru,[6] Kingdoms gathered at Takkasila in quest of learning.

Almost all the students of Kasi were directed to go to Takkasila alone and nowhere else. The fame of Takkasila was not primarily, rather solely due to its teachers who are always mentioned in the *Jatakas* as being "world-renowned",[7] being authorities, specialists and experts in the subjects they professed. In the *Dhonasakha Jataka* we read of such a teacher : "Youths of the warrior and the Brahmana caste came from all India to be taught the arts by him".[8] We thus see that it was the presence of scholars of such acknowledged authority and widespread reputation that made Takkasila the intellectual capital of the Indian continent. "Thus, the various centres of learning in the different parts of the country became affiliated, as it were, to the educational centre, or the central university of Taxila, which exercised a kind of intellectual suzerainty over the wide world of letters in India".[9]

The entire system of education and the atmosphere of learning and culture, as prevalent in Kasi and other parts of India in ancient times, are beautifully reflected in the *Tila-Mutthi Jatka*[10] as follows:—

"Once on a time, Brahmadatta the king of Banaras had a son Prince Brahmadatta. Now kings of former times, though there might be a famous teacher living in their own city, often used to send their sons to foreign countries a far off to complete their education, that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and high-mindedness and endure heat or cold and be made acquainted with the ways of the world. So did this king. Calling his boy to him—now the lad was sixteen years old—he gave him one-soled sandals, a sunshade of leaves and a thousand pieces of money, with these words :

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[1] Fausball, III, p. 238; V, pp. 177, 247.
[2] Ibid., IV, p. 316; VI, p, 347.
[3] Ibid., p. 392.
[4] Ibid., III, p. 115.
[5] Ibid., V, p, 210.
[6] Ibid., p, 456.
[7] Ibid., III, p. 158.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Buddhistic Studies, pp. 238-39.
[10] Fausboll, II, p. 278.

'My son, get you to Takkasila and study there'.

The boy obeyed. He bade his parents farewell and in due course arrived at Takkasila. There he enquired for the teacher's dwelling, and reached it at the time when the teacher had finished his lectures and was walking up and down at the door of the house. When the lad set eyes upon ths teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade, and with a respectful greeting stood still where he was. The teacher saw that he was weary and welcomed the new-comer. The lad ate, and rested a little. Then he returned to the teacher, and stood respectfully by him.

"Where have you come from"? he asked.
"From Benares".
"Whose son are you"?
"I am the son of the king of Benares".
"What brings you here"?
"I come to learn", replied the lad.
"Well, have you brought a teacher's fee? or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you"?
"I have brought a fee with me"; and with this he laid at the teacher's feet his purse of a thousand pieces.

The resident pupils attended on their teacher by day and at night they learnt of him; but they who brought a fee were treated like the eldest sons in his house, and thus they learnt. And this teacher, like the rest, gave schooling to the prince on every light and lucky day. Thus the young prince was taught."[1]

The above account of the *Tila-Mutthi Jataka* thus gives us an insight into the common practice of the Buddhist times in the kingdom of Kasi or Baranasi and also in every part of India.

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[1] Cowell, No. 252.

The students of Banaras are spoken of as going to Takkasila at the age of sixteen, or when they "Come to years of discretion".[1] The son of the king of Magadha is also spoken of as acquiring the liberal arts at Takkasila "on coming of age".[2] Similarly, the two boys of the city of Aritthapura in the kingdom of the Sivi went to Takkasila at the age of sixteen and after completing their education, they returned home.[3]

The age of sixteen which is often referred to show that students were sent to Takkasila from their respective towns or cities not for elementary education, but for higher academic distinction and intellectual attainments. The students of a mature age could also be sent to places far away from their homes for the furtherance of their studies in different branches of knowledge.

Baranasi

In ancient times Banaras was also a great centre of learning. In the *Durajana Jataka* we have mention of a teacher of world-wide fame; he has gathered round him five hundred young Brahmanas who studied under him.[4] It is interesting to note that even when Takkasila exercised a kind of intellectual suzerainty over the wide world of letters in India, Banaras also succeeded to a great extent in inducing foreign scholars to come over there and study under the reputed preceptors of the kingom of Kasi. In the same *Jataka* we are told that one of the disciples of that famous teacher was a young Brahmana from a foreign land.[5] Besides, we are told in the *Tila Mutthi Jataka* that it had simply become a fashion in those days for men to send their sons to foreign countries, regardless of the fact that there might be a famous teacher living in their own city.[6] This would certainly suggest that Banaras was not suffering from intellectual bankruptcy in those days. In the *Nangalisa Jataka* we are told that the Bodhisatta who was born into a rich Brahman's family at Banaras, became a world-renowned

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1. Fausboll, IV, pp. 50, 224; V, p. 263; Cowell, No. 55.
2. Fausboll, V, p. 16.
3. Ibid., p 210.
4. Cowell, No. 64.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., No. 252.

professor with five hundred young Brahmanas to instruct.[1] Similarly, in the *Kosiya Jataka* again, we are told that after perfecting his education at Takkasila Bodhisatta became a teacher of world-wide fame in Banaras.[2] Young nobles and Brahmanas from all the princely and wealthy families flocked to him as pupils.

Tuition Fee

In the *Jataka* period, the students were usually admitted to instruction by their teachers on payment in advance of their entire tuition fees. Students going to Takkasila had to pay a huge amount as their tuition fees. In the *Jatakas* the amount for the said purpose is specified. We always hear of a fixed sum, amounting to 1000 pieces of money. The students while going to Takkasila carried the amount with them.[3] In the *Duta Jataka* we have account of a Brahmana student going to Takkasila without any money to pay off the tuition fee; but he pays to his teacher after acquiring learning. "I will get money to pay my teacher afterwards, by soliciting alms honourably", says the student.[4] After completing his education, he takes leave of his teacher, saying, "I will use all diligence, my teacher, to bring you the money due for your teaching".[5]

In lieu of paying the fees in cash, a student was allowed to pay them in the shape of services to his teacher.[6] The majority of people in India, like today, were not in a happy position to pay in a lump sum. And naturally, therefore, the majority of the students attended on their teacher by day and received instruction at night. In the *Sanjiva Jataka* we see a Brahmana teacher at Banaras, teaching five hundred Brahmana pupils and the students going to the forest to collect wood for the teacher as a part of their regular duty.[7]

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1. Cowell, Nos. 123, 150.
2. Ibid., No. 130.
3. Ibid., No. 61.
4. Ibid., No. 55; Fausboll, I, pp. 272, 285; IV, pp. 30. 224, etc.
5. Fausboll, IV, p. 224.
6. Cf. Mil. Panh. VI. II.
7. Cowell, No. 150, See also No. 71.

In ancient India, in the absence of State-owned educational institutions, monetary difficulty often vexed the poor students. Teachers, too, were not rich enough to accommodate large numbers of students and to maintain them at their own cost. On such occasions we often see the charitable rich community coming forward to provide for them a free education and to let the institution function properly. In the *Surapana Jataka*, we read of a teacher of world-wide fame at Banaras who had five hundred pupils around him.[1] The difficulty of maintaining such a school was removed by the generosity of the 'Benares folk' who used to give day by day food to the poor lads and had them taught free.[2]

The burden of education was to a great extent lessened for both the teachers and the taught, by the occasional invitations to dinner extended to them by philanthropic householders. In the *Varna Jataka* we read of a school of 500 students being invited to take meals by a country family at Takkasila[3] and of a similar entertainment given by an entire village.[4]

Instances are not lacking to show that on exceptional occasions students were sent for higher studies to Takkasila at State expense. Thus, Jotipala, the son of the royal chaplain of Banaras was sent by the king at his expense to Takkasila for the purpose of specialising in the science of Archery.[5]

It is to be noted that in ancient India, the money or the present given to a teacher was never claimed to be a part of wages or the teacher's own labour. The amount given to the teacher was intended to cover the cost of the maintenance of those who paid them, of free board, lodging and other necessaries, of the students who went into residence with their teachers under a common roof. In the *Jataka* period, residence with the teacher was not a compulsory condition of studentship, as we notice in the Bramanical texts. In the *Junha Jataka*, we read of Prince Junha

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1. Cowell, No. 81.
2. Ibid., No. 41.
3. Ibid., No. 71.
4. Ibid., No. 356, Fausboll. III, p. 171.
5. Fausboll.

of Banaras, having his separate accommodation to live at Takkasila and from there he attended the College. "One night, after he had been listening carefully to his teacher's instruction, he left the house of his teacher in the dark and set out for home".[1]

Married life was no bar to the attainment of learning. Under the Brahmanical system of education, student life was confined to the Brahmacarin alone and entrance into the next or second stage of life, that of a householder was the end of academic life. But in the *Jatakas* we notice a different state of affairs. The householders have every access to acquire learning. In *the Kosiya Jataka* we have the account of a country Brahmana of Banaras who learnt the three Vedas and the eighteen sciences at the feet of a reputed teacher of Banaras. He stayed in Banaras to look after his estate and was leading a married life there with a bad and wicked woman. Yet he used to come two or three times every day to listen to the teacher's teachings. Owing to the obstructions of his mischievous wife he could not attend to the discourses of his teacher every-day. This was the main reason for his absence at times.[2] We read a similar case in the *Dura Jana Jataka* of a young Brahmana from a foreign land studying at Banaras under a teacher of world-wide fame. He fell in love with a woman and made her his wife. Though he continued to live in Banaras, he failed two or three times in his attendance on the master, for his wife was a sinful and wicked woman. Worried and harassed by her, he absented himself from waiting on the Master. Now, some seven or eight days later he renewed his attendances;[3] his master gave him necessary instructions after which he "paid no heed to his wife's caprices". There is another instance of a student being handicapped in his studies by the wicked ways of his wife. The pupil, "finding his wife unfaithful, was so affected by the discovery that he stayed away for some days, but being asked one day by his teacher what was the reason of his absence, he made a clean breast of it".[4]

The teachers of ancient India never felt hesitation in giving the hands of their daughters in marriage to worthy students if they

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1. Fausboll, IV, p. 96.
2. Cowell, No. 130.
3. Ibid., No. 64.
4. Ibid., No. 65.

were satisfied with their virtues. Such an instance is recorded in the *Silavinamsana Jataka* where a Professor of Banaras who had five hundred students under him, wanted to marry his grown up daughter to the most virtuous of his disciples, and so he thought: "I will test the virtue of these youths and will give her in marriage to him that most excels in virtue".[1] We are told that the teacher applied a special test, and ultimately gave her in marriage to the Boddhisatta whom he judged to be a virtuous man. It may further be pointed out that there were certain teachers in whose families there was a custom in those days to give away the daughter in marriage to the eldest pupil, if she had reached puberty. Such a case is that of a teacher of Takkasila who married his daughter to his eldest disciple Pinguttra, a resident of Mithila.[2]

Possibly the number of students under one teacher was restricted to 500 only.[3] This was the maximum standard number. In none of the *Jatakas* we find this number exceeded.

One of the salient features of the Hindu educational system was, that education was not meant for everybody or every member of the society, but was restricted to the Brahmanas, Ksatriyas and Vaisyas alone. The Sudras were never considered fit for this. In the *Jatakas* we notice a different state of affairs in which the students were quite a heterogeneous lot, drawn from all ranks and classes of society and representing diverse social conditions. There were princes from distant kingdoms[4] and sons of magnates or magnifices, some of whom were Brahmanas.[5] There were, again, sons of merchants and tailors,[6] and even fishermen,[7] for we read of a teacher who was, on principle, against all restrictions on admission of students and would 'preach the moral law to any one he might see though he did not want it to fishermen and the like'.[8]

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1. Fausboll, III, p. 18.
2. Ibid., VI, p. 347.
3. Ibid., I, pp. 239, 317, 402; III, pp. 18, 235, 143, 171, etc.
4. Ibid., I, p. 272; II, p. 87; III, pp. 115, 238, 415; IV, pp. 96, 316, V. pp. 162, 177, 210, 247, 262, 426, 457.
5. Ibid., II, p. 99; V, p. 227; IV, p. 237 etc.
6. Ibid., IV, p. 38.
7. Ibid., III, p. 171.
8. Ibid.

The Candalas were, however, not admitted as students. In the *Citta Sambhuta Jataka* we are told of the story of two Candalas who concealed their birth and went to Takkasila in the guise of young Brahmanas to study there. Later on, when their fraudulent act was detected, they were expelled from there.[1]

Students of different castes who took up studies did not always confine themselves to the study of the subjects fit for their traditional career. A Brahmana student, we are told, went to Takkasila and learnt Divination under his teacher and later settled down as a hunter in the woods of Banaras.[2] Another Brahmana boy, son of a magnifico, preferred the study of magic charms to the exclusion of other subjects. We read[3] of another boy who specialised in Archery.[4] Elsewhere, there is a reference to a Brahmana boy choosing "science" for his study,[5] and to another mastering 'the three Vedas and the eighteen Accomplishments'.[6]

The democratic set-up of the educational institutions gave equal opportunity to rich and poor alike and even to members of all classes and divisions. With the sons of kings and nobles we find poor students learning their lessons under the care of a common preceptor. The time honoured ideals insisted upon certain standards of simplicity and discipline in life to which all the students had to submit. The king of Banaras, anxious for the education of his son, sends him to Takkasila with one-soled sandals, a sunshade of leaves, and a thousand pieces of money to be offered to his teacher. Nothing more was given to the prince for personal enjoyment.[7] It is to be noticed here that the prince enters his school as a poor man, divested of all riches. The same fact is also hinted at in the story of Prince Junha of Banaras who accidentally broke the alms-bowl of a certain Brahmana and being asked to pay the price of a meal in return, expressed concern for his inability to give the price

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1. Fousboll, IV, p. 391.
2. Ibid. II, p. 200.
3. Ibid., p. 99.
4. Ibid., III, p. 129.
5. Ibid., p. 18.
6. Ibid., II, p. 87; III, pp. 115-122.
7. Cowell, No. 252.

of a meal, possibly because he had no personal property with him.[1] It is for this reason that he promised to pay the money on his return to his kingdom.

Punishment

Usual punishment was awarded to the students by their teachers for their offences. In the *Tila Mutthi Jataka* we are told of an old woman who made strong protests to the teacher against the mischievous behaviour of his student, the prince of Banaras who took a handful of her white-seeds. The teacher being cautioned to correct his student caused two lads to take the young fellow by his two hands, and smote him thrice upon the back with a bomboo stick, bidding him take care not to do it again.[2]

Life

Students were leading a very simple life. The food allowed to them was of the simplest kind. In a *Jataka* we are told that their breakfast included the simple preparation of some rice-gruel which was done by maid of the teacher's house.[3] When invited, they were given sugar-cane, molasses, curd and milk.[4]

As a part of his daily duty, a student had also to go to the forest to collect firwood.[5] Their life was so much regulated by the constant vigilance of the teacher that they were not allowed to go to a river for bath unless accompanied by the Guru himself.[6] A close watch was quite essential because sometimes a slight negligence on the part of the teacher resulted in the doing of wrongful things by the students.

Giving up of boys to the absolute care of the teacher was done with the intention of regulating the life of students and controlling their conduct in every manner. The kings were pleased to send their

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1. Fausboll, IV, p. 96.
2. Cowell, J. No. 252.
3. Ibid., No. 71.
4. Fausboll, I, p. 448.
5. Cowell, No. 71.
6. Ibid., No. 252.

sons abroad, in spite of the fact that there might be a famous teacher living in their own city, because by this means they might learn to quell their pride and high-mindedness, and endure heat or cold and he made acquainted with the ways of the world.[1]

Educational institutions were cosmopolitan in composition no doubt, but there are references to colleges of particular communities only. In some *Jatakas* we are told of teachers with five hundred students each, all of them being Brahmanas alone.[2] On the other hand, under certain teachers we notice only Brahmana and Ksatriya disciples.[3] In the *Mahasutasoma Jataka* we read of a teacher of Takkasila under whom were enrolled only the princes to the number of one hundred and one, besides two other princes newly admitted from the kingdoms of Kuru and Benaras.[4]

We can just imagine the tremendous responsibility upon a teacher to teach a group of five-hundred students single handed. It is hard to think of how he could successfully handle the situation and discharge his obligations. On some occasions when he was confronted with some problems, we see him appointing his oldest disciple to act as his substitute.[5] Elsewhere, we are told that a teacher of Takkasila while going to Banaras on some mission, appointed his chief pupil to take charge of his school during his absence, saying : "My son, I am going away from home, while I am away, you are to instruct these, my pupils".[6]

College Hours

The time for imparting instructions to the students was not one for all. There were a number of sittings every day. The students were instructed according to their convenience. In same *Jataka* we are told that resident pupils attended on their teacher by day, and at night they learnt of him.[7] Study in the night was

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1. Cowell, No. 252.
2. Fausboll. I, pp. 317, 402.
3. Ibid., III, p. 158.
4. Ibid., V, p. 457.
5. Ibid., I, p. 141.
6. Ibid., IV, p. 51.
7. Cowell. No. 252.

possibly meant for the poorer students who paid for the expenses of educational life by the performance of menial work for the school during the day time.[1] The night-timing possibly also suited the day-scholars, for we read of Prince Junha who "one night, after he had been listening carefully to his teacher's instruction, left the house of his teacher in the dark and set out for home".[2] Another student of Banaras who went to Takkasila for a particular instruction implored his teacher thus : "Give me your time for this one night only... I will learn the whole after one lesson".[3]

Students who brought fees for their teacher were accorded special treatment by the latter who, it is stated, treated them like the eldest sons in his house.[4] The teachers, however, gave schooling to the prince on every light and lucky day.[5]

It seems that the students commenced their studies very early in the morning, with the crowing of the cock. In some *Jataka* we read of five hundred young Brahmanas studying under their teacher who had a cock which crowed and raised them to their studies.[6] It would not be incorrect to suggest, in view of the above fact that a cock was domesticated in every school to serve as an alarm-timepiece. We are further told that when the trained cock died, a second cock was secured which had been bred in a cemetery and had no knowledge of times and seasons and used to crow casually, at midnight as well as at day-break. Roused by his crowing at midnight, the young Brahmanas fell to their studies; by dawn they were tired and could not for sleepiness keep their attention on the subject; and when he fell a-crowing in broad day, they did not get a chance of quiet for repeating their lesson. And as it was the cock's crowing both at midnight and by day which had brought their studies to a standstill, they took the bird and wrung his neck.

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1. Fauseboll. II, p. 278 (Cowell, J. No. 252).
2. Ibid., IV, p. 96.
3. Ibid., II, p. 47.
4. Ibid., p. 278 (Cowell, J. No. 252).
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. (Cowell, J. No. 119).

Then they told their teacher that they had killed the cock that crowed in and out of season.[1]

It is thus quite apparent that students in ancient India were serious about their studies and devoted much time to revising their old lessons and repeating the new ones.

Ideal Students

In a *Jataka* we have an example of a student studying under a world-renowned Professor, possibly of Banaras round whom had gathered five-hundred young Brahmanas for instruction. Among these Brahmanas there was one who had a dull mind and therefore had always foolish notions in his head owing to which he always said wrong things. Though he was engaged with the rest in learning the scriptures as a pupil, he could not master the subjects taught to him. He is spoken of as the devoted attendant of his preceptor and ministered to him like a slave. His is the lone example in the entire *Jataka* stories of a devoted student to his Guru who finding no other device to prop up the feet of the Guru's bed on one side used his leg on the other side and passed the whole night sitting there. The teacher seeing him sitting like this enquired the matter and coming to know the truth acknowledged his devotion to him.[2]

Art of Writing

The art of writing was known to the *Jataka* period, the *Jatakas* frequently refer to the existence of written books at that time. In the *Tundila Jataka*, we are told that when the king of Banaras died, the Buddhisatta caused a book of judgments to be written and said, "By observing this book ye shall settle suits".[3] We have various other references to the use of writing in the

1. Fausboll. I, p. 436 Cowell, (J. No. 119).
2. Cowell, J. No. 123.
3. Fausboll, III, p. 292.

Jatakas for writing of epistles[1] and inscriptions.[2] We have references to letters of the alphabet engraved on gold necklets,[3] inscriptions upon garments and accoutrements,[4] the scratching of a message on an arrow,[5] writing on a leaf.[6] There is also another passage[7] which indicates how the art of writing was being regularly taught to the young in the elementary or primary schools. It tells how when a rich man's son was being taught to write, "his young slave used to go with his young master's tablets and so learned at the same time to write himself".

Course of Study

At Banaras, the subjects taught to students were confined only to a few branches of learning. Takkasila, however, provided almost all the subjects of study to the students. The *Jatakas* repeatedly refer to students going to Takkasila to complete their education in the three Vedas and the eighteen *sippas* or arts.[8] Sometimes, the students are referred to as selecting the study of Vedas alone,[9] or the Arts alone.[10]

The mention of three Vedas as subjects of study shows that the study of the *Atharva Veda* was not included in the curriculum for general education at the time of the *Jatakas*. Cramming of the Vedas was the salient feature of the *Jaṭaka* period. We are told of a teacher at Takkasila from whose lips 500 Brahmana pupils learnt the Vedas.[11] The Bodhisatta is frequently referred to as

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1. Fausboll, I, p. 377; II, pp. 95, 174, IV, p. 145; I, p. 45; IV, p, 124.
2. Ibid., II, pp, 36, 372, 376; IV, pp. 7, 257,335, 488; V, pp. 59, 67, 125; VI, p. 29; IV, pp. 520, 489.
3. Ibid., IV, p. 390.
4. Ibid., VI, p. 408.
5. Ibid., II, p. 90.
6. Ibid., p. 174; IV, p. 55; VI, pp. 369, 400.
7. Ibid., I, p 451.
8. Ibid., I, pp. 259, 356, 402, 464; II, p. 87; III, pp. 115, 122 etc.
9. Ibid., I, p. 402; III, p. 235; IV, p. 293, etc.
10. Ibid., III, pp. 18, 238, V. pp. 127 162, 177, 247, 426; IV, p. 456; III, pp. 143, 219, etc.
11. Ibid., I p. 402.

having learnt the three Vedas by heart.[1] Mention of several texts,[2] "holy books"[3] and even the "the law",[4] besides the Vedas, is not acking in these stories. These may possibly refer to the sacred treatises of the Buddhists. For example, we find mention of a *Vinaya* scholar and a *Sutra* scholar.[5]

In the *Jatakas*, however, it may be noticed that there is no separate and specific mention of the subjects that were included under the sciences and arts. The *Milinda Panha*, as mentioned before, gives the individual names of the nineteen *Sippas* then current. The subjects taught at the educational centres of Takkasila included : (1) Elephant Lore (Hatthisutta),[6] (2) Magic,[7] (3) Spell of bringing back the dead to life,[8] (4) Hunting,[9] (5) Spell for understanding all animals' cries,[10] (6) Archery (*Issapasippa*),[11] (7) the Art of Prognostication,[12] (8) Charm for commanding all things of sense,[13] (9) Divining from the signs of the body,[14] and (10) Medicine.[15]

The remarkable thing to note in this connection is that students are mentioned as taking up for their study only one of these subjects in which they wanted to specialise and make themselves experts.

It seems that the study of these sciences and arts was both theoretical and practical. Knowledge of the literature of a subject had to be followed by its practical applications. In regard to some subjects like Medicine, for instance, the practical course had to be gone through under the direction of the teacher. In the case of *Jataka's* education at Takkasila, the practical course in Medicine included a first hand study of the plants to find out the medicinal ones. In other branches of learning, the practical course was left to be completed by the students themselves when they left their schools and colleges after completing their education. We are told of a Brahmana student 'of a market town in the North country' who specialised in the science of Archery at Takkasila and after finishing his studies went as far as the Andhra country in prosecution of the practical application of his art.[1] Elsewhere we have the account of a prince of Magadha who, having mastered all the arts at Takkasila, "wandered through towns, villages and all the land to acquire all practical usages and understand country observances".[2] Similarly, a student of Takkasila named Setaketu also "wandered, learning all practical arts".[3] In some *Jataka*, again, there is mention of another prince of Magadha who, being trained in all sciences at Takkasila, "left that place with the intention of learning the practical uses of arts and local observances".[4] The Pandu brothers, after receiving instruction in arts at Takkasila, travelled about with the idea of mastering local customs.[5] We read again of two sons of merchants and a tailor's son travelling together to learn the custom of the country folk after finishing their education in Takkasila.[6] There is a similar reference to a student from Banaras undertaking a travel after his education at Takkasila.[7] A prince of Kosala is also spoken of as leaving the place to study the practical uses of the sciences learned, after studying the three Vedas and eighteen liberal arts at Takkasila.[8]

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[1] Fausboll. I, p. 259.
[2] Ibid., III, p. 235.
[3] Ibid., IV, p. 293.
[4] Ibid , p. 292,
[5] Ibid., III, p. 486.
[6] Ibid. II, p. 47.
[7] Ibid., p. 100.
[8] Ibid., I, p. 510.
[9] Ibid., II, p. 200.
[10] Ibid., III, p. 415.
[11] Ibid., p. 219; I,p, 356; V, p. 127; II, p, 87,
[12] Ibid., III, p. 122.
[13] Ibid., IV, p. 456.
[14] Ibid., II, p. 200.
[15] Ibid., IV, p. 171,

The *Nangalisa Jataka* records the example of an ideal teacher and a devoted student and shows how nature-study was always insisetd upon as the best means of awakening a healthy curiosity, a spirit of observation and enquiry which are indispensable aids to intellectual culture. The method which a teacher could ultimately think of for instructing such a dullard was to question him on his return from gathering firewood and leaves, as to something he had seen or done that day and then to ask what it was like. 'For', thought the master "this will lead him on to making comparisons and giving reasons and] the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to impart learning to him".[1]

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[1] Fausboll. I, p. 356.
[2] Ibid., II, p. 238.
[3] Ibid., III, p. 235.
[4] Ibid., V, p. 247.
[5] Ibid., p. 426.
[6] Ibid., VI, p. 38.
[7] Ibid., IV, p. 200.
[8] Ibid., III, p. 115.

All the examples demonstrate how the students of those days after their education undertook an expensive foreign travel to give a practical turn to their theoretical studies at the colleges and qualify themselves for the life in the world by broadening the range of their experience and deepening their insight into human affairs by a first-hand study of the diverse manners and customs prevailing in the different parts of the country. Besides its direct educational value, this post-graduate travelling as giving a finishing touch to a student's training was encouraged and insisted upon for another substantial reason, especially in case of students of the well-to-do-classes, who were brought up in luxury. This was meant to build up the physique of the students by inuring them to the hardships of travelling, to make them 'endure heat or cold' and stand all weathers and climates. The institution also served "as a means of moral education of the students of the royal and aristocratic houses especially, who were sent to distant centres for their education, so that by their necessary travelling and living under strange conditions in foreign parts, they might be more humanised with their native pride of position and spirit of exclusiveness crushed out of them under the spirit of thoroughgoing democracy and fraternity which a set of learning would always breathe".[2]

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1. Cowell, No. 123.
2. No. 252 Buddistic Studies, Ch. IX, "Ancient Indian Education from the Jatakas" by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, pp. 253-254.

RELIGION

—Sakka
—Siva Worship
—Ganga-Devata
—Evil Spirit
—Yaksha Worship
—Tree Worship
—New Awakening
—Asceticism
—The Samanas
—Philosophical Aspect

CHAPTER VII

Religion

THE WORLD of religious beliefs and superstitions guiding almost very action of human beings has always baffled the intellectuals. It is difficult, if not impossible, to analyse the true character of the religious practices of the Kasi kingdom which figures prominently round the personality of the Great Buddha in his former existence as the Bodhisatta. Naturally, therefore, Buddhism must have dominated the beliefs and practices of the people of that locality. But there are still traces to show that the popular mind and practices of the time retained, at the same time, the harmonious connection that existed between the Vedic thought and the Buddhistic philosophy.

Sakka

The most prominent among the gods was Sakka, like India[1] of the Vedic period. He is at the head of the thirty-three devas dwelling in the *Tavatimsa* heaven, which is the best of the three other heavens, *viz*., the Yama, the Tusita and the Parinimmita.[2] His character as the rain-god was still retained.[3]

Among other gods of the Vedic times who still survived, mention may be made of Moon and the Sun (Canda-Suriya).[4] The worship of Fire (Aggi) and Water (Apa) is laughed at in scorn.[5]

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[1] Rhys Davids, p. 237.

[2] Fausboll, I, p. 202; II, pp. 89, 312; VI, p. 279-G. 1221.

[3] Ibid., I, pp. 331, 322-G. 74; IV, p. 253-G. [113.

[4] Ibid., I, p. 474-G. 131; VI, pp. 1, 263-G. 1142.

[5] Ibid., I, p. 494; See Ibid., p. 207-G. 893.

The wind-god Vayu (Maluta) has also been the laughing stock of the story-teller.[1] Varuna who is still a power, and is ranked with the highest,[2] is gradually reduced to a tree-god.[3]

Other mythological Deities of benevolent character frequently referred to in the *Jatakas* also deserve attention. We may mention Siri or Sririma, the Goddess of Luck, of plenty and success, who was a very popular deity.[5] She is described as the daughter of Dhatarattha, one of the four guardian angels.[5]

Siva Worship

In the Pauranic texts, Kasi has been represented as the important and famous centre of Saivism. On the other hand, in Vedic and Buddhist literatures, the fame of Kasi as a kingdom (*Janapada*) and its capital city Varanasi is attributed to its trade and commerce and not to its religion. We, however, note some difference between the Aryan religion of the Kuru-Pancala kingdom and the religious beliefs of the Aryans of Varanasi.

The Vedic literature unfortunately gives no elaborate account or information to this effect. But this is certainly the reason why Kasi did not find a prominent place in these early texts. The *Puranas* and the Buddhist texts undoubtedly make same reference to the ancient religion of Kasi. The *Puranas* unanimously treat this land as Saivite since the creation of the universe. The most interesting evidence adduced from the *Puranas* is to be seen in the story of the great sacrifice performed by Daksa in which Lord Siva was not invited for his having no faith in the Vedic religion. His wife Sati or Parvati went to her father's home even without any invitation and had to suffer much insult there. Being much shocked she jumped into the sacrificial compound and gave up her life. Afterwards Virabhadra, with the permission of Siva, destroy-

1. Fousboll, I, p. 125-G. 16; VI, p. 263-G. 1142.
2. Ibid., VI, p. 164-G. 750.
3. Ibid., IV, p. 8.
4. Ibid., III, pp. 257-258, 261-262-G. 50, 51, 263, 264; V, p. 399-G. 236-7.
5. Barua and Sinha, pp. 74—78; Compare Barhut Sculpture : Cunningham, "The Stupa of Barhut, London, 1879, pls. XXIII, I, LIV., figs. 36, 37, 38.

ed the sacrifice. Dr. Altekar infers from this story an attempt to wipe out the differences between Saiva and Vedic religions.[1]

The story of Divodasa as depicted in the *Kasi-Khanda*[2] and many other *Puranas* indicates that the kings and people of the Kasi *Janapada* checked the growth of the Vedic religion in Kasi. In this story we are told that king Divodasa expelled all the divinities except Siva from the kingdom of Kasi. The *Kasi-Khanda* even goes to say that after the expulsion of all the gods from Kasi the propagation of truth increased.[3] In order to take revenge the gods stopped giving aid to Kasi, but Divodasa remained firm and unmoved. Ultimately, the gods decided to practise deception and succeeded in leading the other gods into Kasi. The *Vayu Purana* further tells[4] us that even after Divodasa's destruction, Siva did not leave Kasi. In Varanasi he told Gauri that he could not go anywhere leaving the city. For this very reason the God himself called this land 'Avimukta'. The *Agni Purana*[5] attests the fact that Kasi came to be known as 'Avimukta' because Siva never left it.

In the *Aranyaka Purava* of the *Mahabharata*[6] we have the mention of Kasi as a holy place of Siva. Kasi's religious sancity is, surprisingly enough, given no prominence in the *Tirthayatra* section where we have detailed description of the holy sites of the Land of Kuru-Pancala kingdoms. It is quite likely that by that time Kasi had not acquired such a high religious recognition as it did later. It is also possible that the followers of the Vaisnavite of Bhagavata Cult who seem to dominate the Epic narrative did not care to mention Siva's favourite resort Baranasi, owing to which it failed to attract the sight of the Epic authors. However, it is certain that in Varanasi worshipped the *Vrsabha-dhvaja* and taking a bath in Kapilahrada (modern Kapiladhara) could confer merit equal to that of *Rajasuya* sacrifice.

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1. Altekar, pp. 3ff.
2. Ch. 62.
3. Chs. 58, 78.
4. Chs. 30. 58.
5. Chs. 35. 16.
6. Mbh. III.82, pp. 69-70.

Apart from the Great Epic, Siva worship has no reference in the Buddhist and the Jaina literatures according to which the people of Varanasi used to pay homage to the *Nagas* and *Yaksas*. It may be possible that Siva might have had a place among these Yaksas; but Siva as a distinct Deity is nowhere associated with Varanasi. It has been shown somewhere that in the Buddhist literature, Siva is counted among *Yaksas*; for example, in the *Mahamayuri* the principal *Yaksa* of Banaras is described as *Mahakala* which is a name of Siva.[1] Whatsoever might have been the case, the city of Banaras had a very remote relation with *Yaksa*-worship, owing to which we find even now the remnants of the ancient *Yaksa*-worship in the Barma and Bira of Varanasi.

Ganga-Devata

She is the presiding female deity of the Ganga or rivers in general. Somewhere, she is represented as the custodian of fishes.[2] We have also reference to *Manimekhala*, the divinity of the sea, who looks after men sailing over the vast ocean. She appears to have come in at a later stage, though she commands respect over a wider area.[3]

Evil Spirit

The *Jataka* stories testify that people had to take recourse to various arts and artifices to counteract these evils which are known to us as spells, charms or magic. Spirits which endangered the safety of man were the *Asuras* the eternal enemies of the gods,[4] the *Danava-raksas*[5] the *Vijjadharas* or the wizards flying invisibly and endowed with all sorts of spells and magic,[6] and above all the *Yaksas* and various other spirits.[7]

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1. See *J.U.P.H.S.*, XV, Part I, p. 27.
2. Fausboll, II, pp. 423ff- G. 113-114.
3. Ibid., IV, pp. 17, 21; VI, pp. 35ff.
4. Ibid., I, pp. 202-206-G. 30.
5. Ibid., III, p. 527.
6. Ibid., pp. 303, 455, 527-31.
7. See Dial. II, pp. 286ff; III, pp. 188ff.

Yaksa-Worship

Yaksas were worshipped in Banaras atleast upto the Sunga period. The Yaksa images which belong to the Sunga and pre-Sunga periods are still preserved in the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Varanasi as well as in the Saranath museum. The Jain literature also bears testimony to the fact that Yaksa-worship was quite prevalent centuries before the Christian era, and that there were the *caityas* (shrines) of the Yaksas in almost all the cities of Northern India. The *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*[1] also informs us that there were some Yakas of higher status who honoured the ascetics (*Tapasviyo*). In the same literature we have reference to Gandi Tinduka Yaksas who guarded the great Sage Matanga in the Ganda Tinduka garden. The *Nayadhammakaha* speaks of another Yaksa of beneficent character, *viz.*, Selaga, who on every Caturdasi, Astami, Amavasya and Purnamasi helped people.[2] The Yaksas are also said to have cured diseases.[3]

The *Puranas* also give us an insight into the Yaksa-worship of Kasi. In the *Matsya Purana*[4] we have the story of the Yaksa Harikesa, from which we learn how Yaksa-worship disappeared from Kasi as a sequel to the Siva-worshipping movement. We are told that Harikesa Yaksa was the son of Purnabhadra Yaksa and was a devotee of Siva from his very child-hood. He was also of a very pious character and practiced *Tapasya.* His father was very much enraged by this conduct of his son which, in his opinion, was opposed to the conduct of the Yaksas who were generally meat-eaters and addicted to brutality; and, therefore, this way of human life was not suited to Harikesa. His father threatened to turn him out of his house. When Harikesa did not obey his father he had to leave home. He came to Varanasi and there he worshipped Siva for a thousand years.[5] Siva became very happy with his devotion and wanted him to ask for a boon. Harikesa asked for a boon that he should always remain at Varanasi. Siva

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1. 3.14.
2. 9, p. 127.
3. See for detailed account of the Yaksas, J.C. Jain, pp. 220-223.
4. Ch. 180.
5. *Matsya P.* 180, pp. 6-20.

granted him his wishes and appointed him as the Ksetrapala of Kasi along with Tryaksa, Dandapani, Udbhrama and Sambhrama to assist him.[1] Elsewhere in the *Matsya Purana* we have reference to many Yaksas mentioned along with Siva's attendants of Varanasi,[2] such as Vinayaka, Kusmanda, Gajatunda, Jayanta, Madothata, etc. Some of these were lion and tiger-faced; some had a dreadful size; while some were humped and short statured (*vamana*). Other attendants were Nandi, Mahakala, Candaghanta, Mahesvara, Danda-Candesvara and Ghantakarna.

Besides these, we also come across the four Great Kings who were the guardians of the four quarters. They are Dhatarattha in the East at the head of the Gandhabbas, Virulha in the South at the head of the Kumbhandas, Virupakkha in the West above the Nagas and Vessavana-Kubera in the North above the Yakkhas.[3] All these *disas* or quarters were worshipped in times of distress.[4]

The Yakkhas were the most commonly dreaded among the human beings. To common people the world looked infested with the Yakkhas. Even the Lord of the Yakkhas is much.[5] They could be recognised because they had unwinking and red eyes, cast no shadow, were fearless and without mercy,[6] in stature as tall as palm trees, head is big as an arbour, huge eyes like bowls, two tusks like turnips and the beak of a hawk.[7] They lived on the flesh of men and beasts,[8] and haunted deserts and forests, trees or waters.[9] There are also references to the she-goblins, the Yakkhinis who were even more dreadful by their snares of beauty, music, smell, taste and comfort; they attracted men and made them their prey.[10]

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1. *Matsya P.*, 180, pp. 88-89.
2. Ibid., 183, pp. 62-66.
3. Fausboll, III, p. 257.
4. Ibid., VI, p. 562-G. 2256.
5. Ibid., I, p. 328; II, p. 16; III, p. 502; VI, p. 265.
6. Ibid., VI, p. 307.
7. Ibid., I, p. 273; Also p. 102; IV, p. 491.
8. Ibid., I, p. 10; III, p. 327; V. p. 458.
9. Ibid., I, pp. 99, 349.
10. Ibid., I, pp. 240,395-7; II, p. 128, III, p. 502.

The *Jatakas* also refer to the Garulas (*Garudas*), or the Supannas, the Indian counterpart of the harpy and griffin, half man half bird, perpetual enemies of the Nagas, whom they feed.[1] Among the other feared creatures, mention may be made of the man-eating Pisacas,[2] the Bheravas[3] and the Kumbhandas.[4] Besides these, we also came across such souls or spirits as were supposed to animate and to reside in the wind (*akasatthadevata*),[5] in water (*udakarakkasa*),[6] in thunder and rain,[7] and above all the tree gods (*rukkhadevata*).[8]

Tree Worship

Tree-worship in India is very old and was continued even after the rise of Buddhism.[9] The *Jatakas* are full of references to tree-worship, with its superstitions and savage customs. People made offerings to the tree-spirits.[10] Sometimes human sacrifices were also offered.[11] They were consulted as oracles, and expected to grant children, fame and wealth.[12] They were believed to injure those who injured the trees in which they dwelt,[13] and they were pleased when garlands were hung upon the branches of the tree, lamps lighted a round it, and offerings were made, at the foot of the tree.[14] The *Dummadha Jataka* refers to the practices of the people of Banaras who were offering sacrifices to the banyan-tree in which the entrails, blood and flesh of victims—goats, cocks, pigs and the like—are the substantial parts of the sacrifice. The crowd, we are told, made prayers to the fairy who had been reborn in that tree, to grant them sons and daughters, honour and wealth, each according to his heart's desire.[1] Similarly, in the *Dhanasakha Jataka* we meet with a similar dreadful account of the guardian deity of the banyan in which a number of capitive kings were reduced to a state of insensibility, their eyes were put out, and after they were dead, their flesh was caused to be carried away by the Ganga. The entrails were hung as garlands on the tree, which was marked with spread hands dipped in the blood of the victims.[2] In most of the *Jatakas* we come across such superstitious beliefs of the common folk of the village of Kasi. For example, in the *Kundakapura Jataka*, Bodhisatta is represented as a tree-spirit dwelling in a castor-oil plant to which people came with garlands, colours, perfumes, and cakes; "but the poor man had only a cake of husk-powder and water in a coconut shell for his tree".[3] A similar account of tree worship is given in the *Palasa Jataka* which goes on to prove that people had immense belief in such superstitions like spirits residing in trees. The inhabitants of Banaras are often referred to as devoted to the worship of such deities and constantly engaged in religious offerings.[4] In the story a poor brahmana is described as offering prayers to a Judas-tree and sprinkling gravel, sweeping all-round it and keeping its roots smooth and free from grass. He made a present with a scented wreath of fine sprays and lighting a lamp, made an offering of flowers and perfume and incense.[5] All the stories referring to the tree spirits and their worship undoubtedly suggest, that this custom must have been widely prevalent, not only among the people of Kasi, but in other places as well, which figure in these stories.

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[1] Fousboll, II, p. 13; VI, p. 191.
[2] Ibid., II, p. 16-G-9-10; III, pp. 146-7-G. 183-4.
[3] Ibid., I, p. 499.
[4] Ibid., II, p. 397, III, pp. 146-147-G. 183-4.
[5] Ibid., I, p. 499.
[6] Ibid., pp. 128,170-1.
[7] Ibid., p. 167.
[8] Ibid., pp. 168-328,415,423,441.
[9] See Rhys Davids, p. 227; Fausboll, IV , p. 154.
[10] Fausboll, I, pp. 169, 259ff, 344ff, G. 76,G.8; III, pp. 23ff, etc.
[11] Ibid., III, p. 160, V, pp. 472,474,488.
[12] Ibid., I, pp. 259,404-5, 423; III, p. 23.
[13] Ibid., IV, pp. 210,353.
[14] Ibid., III, p. 23; IV, p. 153.

New Awakening

The *Jataka* stories testify to a leap forward in speculative thought, a new birth in ethics, and religion of conscience threatening to take place of the old religion of custom and magic.[6] We can regard this period as that which showed the germs of all that we find later; a period which saw the existence of various orders of teachers representing different groups or schools of thought, which again may roughly be divided into either Sramanas and Brahmanas or Hermits and wanderers.[1]

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[1] Fausboll, I, p. 259.
[2] Ibid., III, pp. 157 ff.
[3] Cowell, No. 109.
[4] Ibid., No. 307.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Rhys Davids, pp. 238 ff.

Further, there are anti-Vedic traces in the philosophical speculations of the compilers of the *Jatakas*. We are reminded of the two most prominent figures of the Upanisadic times, *viz.*, Uddalaka Aruni and his son Svetaketu. The *Setaketu and Uddalaka Jatakas*[2] preserve the traditional information about these two celebrities. The conversation between the father and the son shows some resemblance to the one contained in the *Chandogya Upanisad*.[3] In the *Jataka* Setaketu is represented as doubtful about the efficacy of Vedic Learning, and as favouring self-control. His father, Uddalaka maintains the usefulness of the *Vedas*, but at the same time accepts right conduct as the means to attain bliss : "The Vedas will bring only fame but right conduct will give us bliss".[4]

In some of the *Jatakas* we have a glimpse of some of the speculations that were going on at that time. For example, in the *Mahabodhi Jataka*,[5] there is reference to five different philosophic doctrines, *viz.*, *Ahetuvadi*, *Issarakaranavadi*, *Pubbekatavadi*, *Vicchedavadi* and *Khattavijjavadi*.

The *Jatakas* express the most pronounced antagonism towards the *Ajivikas*, who, under Maskarin Gosala, formed a stubborn sect in the time of the Buddha. In the *Lomahamsa Jataka*,[6] an interesting life of an *Ajivaka* is portrayed. "Unclothed, and covered with dust, he remained solitary and lonely, fleeing like a deer from the face of men; his food was small fish, cow-dung, and other refuses; and in order that his vigil might not be disturbed, he took up his abode in a dread thicket in the jungle. In the snows of winter, he came forth by night from the sheltering thicket

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1. Barua, p. 191.
2. Fausboll, III, pp. 232-7. GG.8-12; IV, pp. 297-304. GG.62-76.
3. Ibid., VI, p. 4.
4. Ibid , III, pp. 236-7-GG. 10-3; IV, pp. 299-301-GG.62-65,
5. Ibid., V, pp. 228 ff.
6. Ibid., I, pp. 390-91,

to the open air, returning with the sun-rise to his thicket again, and as he was bitten by frost at night, so in the day time he was drenched by the drizzle from the branches of the thicket. Thus day and night alike he endured an extremity of cold. In summer, he lived by day in the open air, and by night in the forest, scorched by the blazing Sun by day, and fanned by no cooling breezes by night, so that the sweat streamed from him :

Now scorched, now frozen, lone in the lonesome woods, beside no fire, but all afire within, naked, the Hermit wrestles for the Truth."[1]

Asceticism

With the rise of the doctrine of rebirth[2] (which is very often hinted at in the *Jatakas*) actions and their consequences (*Kamma-phale*)[3] human life and its values, began to appear in a different aspect. The idea of life with an unending chain of repeated existences, prompted men to seek an escape.[4] The People turned towards asceticism. Samanas and .the Brahmanas were the two prominent groups of ascetics. The *Paribbajakas* were still in the process of making an existence.

The old institution of Hermits who were known as *isis* or *tapasas* was still alive amongst the people who cherished the memory of old sages. Yamahanu, Somayaga, Manojava, Samudda, Magha, Bharata, Kalikara and Kassapa Angiresa, Akitti and Kisavaccha[5] attained to *Brahmaloka* through tapasas. The *Jataka* tales are full of references to Hermits, the *Pabbajitas*, who according to Prof. Rhys Davids[6] lived in the forests adjoining the settlements; the desciples of various schools occupied themselves according to the various tendencies of the schools to which they belonged, either "in meditation or in sacrificial rites, or in practices of self-torture, or in repeating over to themselves and in teaching to

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1. Fausboll, I, pp. 390-91; See also *Majhima*, I, 79. The account given here is deliberately exaggerated and seems to be *biased*.
2. Ibid.. II, p. 17; VI, pp. 189-G. 828; p. 239-G.1075.
3. Ibid., I, p. 350; II. pp. 202-G.143; III. p. 158-G. 15; IV, p. 377-G.39.
4. Ibid., III, p. 434-G-17; VI, p. 546-G.2144-6.
5. Ibid., VI, p. 90-G. 422-3.
6. Rhys Davids, pp. 140-41,

their pupils the *Suttas* containing the tenets of their school. Much time was spent in gathering fruits and roots for their sustenance ....". And there was difference of opinion and of practice, as to the comparative importance attached to the learning of texts. But the hermitages where the learning, or the repeating of texts was unknown, were the exceptions.

The *Jatakas* furnish valuable clue to the everyday life of the *Pabbajitas.* They retired to the sylvan and lonely forests of the Himalayas.[1] There they built small suitable huts of grasses and leaves.[2] Their usual requisites were: robes, inner and outer, dyed in bark, antelope's skin thrown over the shoulders, walking staffs in hands, shoes, umbrellas, hook for gathering fruits etc. and bowl.[3] They kept long locks of matted hair and tied them in a coil and if need be, thrust needles in them.[4] They wore a girdle of *munja* grass.[5] They generally lived on wild bulls and radishes, catmint and herbs, mild rice, black mustard, jujube, herbs, honey, lotus-fibres, myrobalan scraps of meat.[6]

In the *Jatakas* we have reference to many other types of ascetics; the stories express aversion "towards ascetic appearances", and "occasionally cast slur and bitter satire on outward show of hypocritical saintliness". They show particular hatred against austerities and false practices (*samadanam*)[7] many of which are mentioned. Some of the ascetics did the swinging penavel (*vagguli-vatam*),[8] some lay on thornbeds (*kantakaseyyam*),[9] some underwent the five-fire penance (*Pancatapam*);[10] some practised mortification by squatting (*ukkutiappadhanam*); some by the act of diving into water (*udakagahanam*); some repeated texts (*mante sajjapenti*).[1]

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[1] *E.g.* Fausboll, I, p, 140; II, pp. 103, 269 III, p. 515; IV. p. 221.

[2] Ibid., I, p. 375; VI, p. 75.

[3] Ibid., I, p. 304; III. p. 82; IV, pp. 25, 129, 476-G.294-5; V. p. 312-G. 124; VI, pp. 21,73,528-G.2011.

[4] Ibid., I, pp. 304-375; V. p. 132; VI. pp. 21,73, 528-G.2011,242.

[5] Ibid., I, p. 202-G-32; III, p. 236-G.10; IV, p. 299-G.62; VI, p. 536-G.2037-8.

[6] Ibid., I, p. 450; IV, pp. 221, 306; 371-2-G.269-86; *See also*, I, pp. 361-62; II, pp. 262,382; V. 235; VI, p. 63.

[7] Ibid., I, p. 391.

[8] See *J.P.T.S.* 1884, p. 95.

[9] See the *National Geographic Magazine*, 24, pp. 1268, 1269, 1270 & 1279.

[10] Ibid., p. 1286.

The Samanas

In the period earlier than the time of the Buddha, the Samanas played a very important part in moulding the material as well as the spiritual life of the people of Bharatavarsa. Prof. Rhys Davids says : "Besides the Hermits there was another body of men, greatly respected throughout the country——They were teachers or Sophists who spent eight or nine months of every year wandering about, precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism. Like the Sophists, among the Greeks, they differed very much in intelligence, in earnestness and in honesty".[2]

It is, however, very difficult to distinguish exactly between the wanderers known as *Paribbajakas*, and the recluse philosophers called *Samanas* who, too, were included in the class of wanderers. A *Samana* did not keep hair and beard : he wore three yellow (*Kasaya*) robes : one as under-dress, the other as upper, and the third he wrapped round his shoulders; his earthen vessel he put in a bag and fastened it on his left shoulder ; he held a walking staff in his hand : and he also kept with him a razor, a needle a strainer and a zone.[3]

The *Samanas* were highly respected by the common folk as well as kings and the nobility. They are often represented as meeting one another in the parks outside the royal cities or in rest-houses (*Salas*). The royal park was their usual staying place which lay outside the city. They went for abegging in the city where they were cordially received and respected with greetings by the Royalty.[4] The common folk used to pay respect to these ascetics, gave them food, place for residing and other necessaries of life and to ask them questions pertaining to *dhamma*.[5]

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[1] Fausboll, III, p. 235; IV, p. 299; V. p. 241-G.160.

[2] Op. Cit., p. 141.

[3] Fausboll, III, p. 377; IV, p. 342; V, p. 187; VI, p. 52.

[4] Ibid., I, pp. 140, 333, 361, 373, 505; III, pp. 38, 79, 119, 143, 352, 410; V.p. 482.

[5] Ibid., I, pp. 187, 298, 480; III; pp. 304ff; IV, pp. 28-30-178-G.46, pp. 299, 320; VI, p. 287-G.1247, p. 296-G.1298-8.

The career of such a homeless ascetic was possibly open to every one, irrespective of any distinction. Fick rightly remarks : "Not only did world-sick old people renounce the world but, even kings who were in undisputed possession of sovereignty and in the fullness of their power; young princes preferred the severe life of the ascetic to the glitter of sovereign power; rich tradesmen gave away their riches and heads of families their wives and children in order to build a hut in the forests of the Himalayas and to live on roots and fruits or to eke out an existence by begging alms".[1]

Philosophical Aspect

From the great storehouse of ethical or moral teachings in the *Jatakas* we have to represent the general attitude of mind towards life and its problems. This general attitude of mind takes for granted the transitoriness of the world and recognises its ills, but it, nevertheless, sticks to this earth, strives to find a way out of the miseries and preaches the ennobling—may be rather incomprehensible—ideals of *satya* and *ahimsa*, to attain the everlasting bliss to reach *nirvana*.

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1. Fick, pp. 67-8 cf. J. IV.

Archaeological Remains

- The Principal Remains at Sarnath
- Sarnath
- Conclusion

CHAPTER VIII

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

BENARES which was known as Varanasi or Kasi in ancient times is now being considered as a holy city owing to which devout Hindus speak of coming to end their days in Kasi, for the sake of *Kasivah, i.e.*, the benefit presumed to be derived from dying in the holy city and the efficacy of funeral rites therein performed.[1]

To say anything about the archaeological significance of this city, we will have to recall to its glorious days in ancient times, owing to which Varanasi became a name familiar to Brahmanical literature, and ultimately a stage came when this name was converted into Kasi or Kashi.

Much exaggerated account is given in ancient texts about Benares and therefore these texts are little to be trusted for throwing light on the history of Beneras.

The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen T'sang, who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A.D., has left some relevant details according to which the kingdom of Varanasi at that time had a circuit of about 4000 li, or eight hundred miles, while its capital measured 18 or 19 li in length and five or six li in breadth, or nearly four miles by somewhat more than one. He further goes on to say that most of the inhabitants there were Hindus; they were mostly worshipers of Siva (*Mahesvara*), and among them were two classes of asectics, *viz.*; *Nirgranthas* and *Pasupatas*. Their temples counted to a hundred with about 10,000 sectaries. The Buddhists, who are stated to have been much in the minority, kept up about 30 *Sangharama* tenanted by 3,000 priests, the towers and halls of which were of sculptured stones and carved

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1. *Arch. Sur. of India*, Fuhrer, p. 797.

wood, and a copper statue of Siva, somewhat less than 100 feet in height.

The attribution of peculiar sanctity to the city of Benares seems to date from the period of the *Puranas*, and some of these compositions may unquestionably claim a very respectable antiquity. But unfortunately, it got a very big setback in 1194 when shahab, ad-dine, after defeating Jayachandra of Kanauj, marched on to Banares where he is reported to have demolished more than a thousand Hindu temples. No further attempt was taken by any succeeding king to prop the sinking fortunes of Benares. Under Aurangzeb, it reached at last the depth of its ignominy. At the command of that harsh bigot, its principal temples were laid in ruins and the masjids constructed from their materials reared on their half destroyed foundations.

In this background we can easily understand how much comprehensive and genuine information can be gathered about the archaeological aspect of this ancient-most city of Varanasi which passed through the vigorous currents of time under the tyrant rulers like Aurangzeb.

The oldest monuments of Benares are the remains of edifices of the Buddhist period, though not existing in their original integrity. Their materials have been misappropriated by the Hindus as well as Muslims. It is therefore necessary to take caution in distinguishing old from the new. Those portions of the city with certain buildings or parts of buildings, or sculptured stones, or other objects of *unreliable* antiquity are in the northern division of the city and among the narrow streets on its eastern border running parallel to the Ganges.[1]

In mohalla Alipur, in the north-west corner of the city, there are some Buddhist remains on the edge of a tank known as *Bakariya Kunda*, measuring 550 feet in length by 275 feet in breadth. There is a high mound on the northern side of the tank, on the top of it lie several blocks of cut stone, broken statues,

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[1] *Arch. Sur. of India* Fuhrer, p. 199.

Kalasas or top-stones, nine feet in diameter and many other remains.

On the western bank there is a massive breastwork formed by large stones, bearing the marks and names of various masons in Gupta Characters. There is also a solid terrace running by the side of the *Kunda* to a great distance. This terrace is 20 feet above the tank and supports two other terraces of smaller dimensions one above the other, each of which is girded by a breastwork of huge stones. The lower terrace is 130 feet broad and 270 feet long on its western face, and 330 feet on its eastern face, overlooking the tank. On the terrace there is an old edifice whose roof is supported by the rouse of thick stone columns, the capitals of which are cruciform. The cornice decorating the walls is 12 inches deep and is ornamented with carvings of various elegant designs.

Just in front of this ancient building, are two other extensive elevations of the ground or terrace, one over the other. The lower elevation is 86 feet long and 62 and half feet broad and about 4 feet in height. The upper one is 48 and half feet, by 24 feet and is crowned with an ornamental cornice which runs in an unbroken throughout a large portion of the circuit of the terrace. It undoubtedly appears as ancient a site as the neighbouring buildings.

The Principal Remains at Sarnath

The most remarkable of the Sarnath monuments is the great towers called *Dhamek*. The *Dhamek Stupa* is a solid round tower, 93 feet in diameter at base and 110 feet in height above the surrounding ruins, but, 128 feet above the general level of the country. The foundation or basement was made of very large bricks and has a depth of 28 feet below the level of the ruins. The lower part of the tower, to a height of 43 feet, is built entirely of stone, from one of the Chunar quaries, and with the exception of the upper five cornices, the whole of this part of the building is a solid mass of stones. Each of these stones is secured to its neighbours by iron cramps. The upper part of the tower is built entirely of large bricks, but as the outer facing has long ago disappeared, there is nothing now left to show whether it was formerly cased with stone, or only plastered over, and painted with colour in a manner to imitate the stone-work of the lower portion. General Cunningham is, however, of the opinion that, because the present stone work terminates with the same cornices all round the building, it must have been plastered. He states that 'had the upper part been cased with the stones, it is scarcely possible that the whole should have disappeared so completely that not even a single block out of so many thousands should now remain in its original position'.[1] Cunningham also saw same projecting bricks which appeared very like the remains of a moulding at the base of the dome. He also discovered a small brick cap, 8 feet in diameter and only 4 feet height. This lead him to his conclusion that it was the ruin of the base of a small pinnacle, about 10 feet square which must have supported at one time a stone umbrella under which the figures of the Buddha are usually represented as seated.

There are eight projecting faces in the lower part of the monument. Each of these projections is 21 feet and 6 inches in width, with intervals of 15 feet between them. In each of the faces, at a height of 29 feet above the ground level, there is a semi-circular headed niche, 5½ feet in width and same in height. In each of these niches there is a pedestal, one foot in height and slightly hollowed on the top to receive the base of a statue. These statues have long ago disappeared. But surprisingly enough, during the course of his excavations at the base of this monument, Cunningham did not find even the fragment of one. Still, he feels that all the eight statues must have been of the Buddha in the usual form, with his hands raised before his breast, and the thumb and forefinger of the right hand placed on the little finger of the left hand for the purpose of enforcing his argument.[2] The dimensions of these niches suggest that the statues must have been of life-size.

From the level of the base of the niches the eight projecting faces lessen in width to five feet at the top. This dimenution is not uniform. Around the niches seven of the faces are more or less richly decorated with a profusion of flowing foliage. The carvings have not been done on all the faces; some faces have been left unfinished and the south face is altogether plain.

1. *Arch. Sur*, *Rep. I*, p. 108.
2. Ibid.

The same ornamentation of flowing foliage is contained below the niche on the western face. There is a smali plain tablet in the middle of it which was probably left for incising a short inscription. Below the niches, a triple band of ornament nearly nine feet in depth, encircles all the rest of the building. The middle band which is the broadest is formed entirely of various geometrical figures. The main lines are deeply cast, and the intervening spaces are all filled with various ornaments. The upper band of oranamentation, which is the narrowest, is having a scroll of the lotus plant with leaves and buds only. The lower band is also formed of a lotus scroll, containing the full blown flowers as well as the buds. The lotus flower is shown full to the front on all the sides except the south, south-west, where it is shown in a side view with the *Chakwa* or Brahmani Goose seated upon it. It is remarkable to note that this is the only exceptional representation of any animal in these decorations. But in the middle of the ornament there is a human figure seated in a lotus flower and holding two branches of the lotus in his hands. On each side of him there are three lotus flowers, of which the four nearer ones support pains of Brahmani Gooze, while the two farther ones carry only single bird. Over the nearest pair of geese, on the right hand of the figure, there is a frog. The lotus scroll with its flowing lines of graceful stalk, mingled with flower buds and full blown flowers, and delicate leaves, is very rich and very beautiful. Below the oranmental borders there are three plain projecting banks.

Cunningham, after removing ruined brick pinnacles at the top of the great tower, began sinking a shoft or well, about five feet in diameter. He discovered a rough stone 24 inches × 5 inches × 7 inches at a depth of 3 feet from the top. His further excavation brought to him an inscribed slab 28-¾ inches long, 13 inches broad, and 4-¾ inches thick at a depth of 10½ feet. The inscription depicts the usual Buddhist formula or profession of faith beginning with the word "ye Dharmma hetu prabhava" etc. According to Cunningham the letters of this inscription appear to be of somewhat earlier date than the Tibetan alphabet which is known to have been obtained from India in the middle of the 7th century. On this ground he assigns the date of the inscription and the completion of the monument to the 6th century A.D.[1]

Further excavations from the top of the plain soil beneath the foundation did not yield any purposeful result.

Hiuen T'sang has left an account of a great tower near 'Banaras' which was erected by Asoka near the spot where Buddha had begun to "turn the wheel of the law", that is to preach his new doctrine. In the beginning of the 5th century when Fa-Hian visited this place he also saw the great tower. This monument was therefore erected to commemorate this great event.

The word *Dhamek* which is now the name of this great *stupa* needs to be explained. Cunningham takes it to be some compound of Dharmma, and, bearing in mind that on this spot Buddha first began to "turn the wheel of the law", he suggests that *Dhamek* is only an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *Dharmmopadesaka* or "Preacher of Dharmma" which is indeed the common term now in use to disignate any religious teacher.[2] With great confidence he further states, "The special fitness of this name for the great tower in the Deer Park at Banaras is so obvious and striking, that I think it needless to offer any further remarks on the subject".[3]

To the westward of Dhamek at a distance of about 520 feet there is a large circular hole, upwards of 50 feet in diameter surrounded by a very thick brick wall. This is the ruin of the large brick *stupa* which was excavated by Jagat Singh for the purpose of obtaining bricks for the erection of Jagat Ganj. His workmen found at a depth of 27 feet two vessels of stone and marble one inside the other. The inner vessel contained a few human bones some decayed pearls, gold leaves and other jewels of no value.[4] In the same place a statue of Buddha was also discovered bearing an inscription of a very late period, *i.e.*, dated in *Samvat* 1083, or A.D. 1026.

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1. *Arch. Sur. Rep. I*, p. 111.
2. Ibid., 113.
3. Ibid.
4. Jonathan Duncan, Asiatic Researches, V, p. 113.

General Cunningham has suggested that the large round hole 520 feet to the west of the great tower represents the site of the *stupa* excavated by Jagat Singh.[1] The place where the two marble boxes were found was personally supervised by Cunningham. The box, according to same information, was found in a small square hole or chamber only just large enough to hold it. There still exists a thick circular wall. The box was thus apparently deposited inside a solid brick hemispherical *stupa*, 49 feet in diameter at the level of the deposit, which was covered by a casing wall of bricks 16½ feet in thickness, the total diameter being 82 feet.

Later excavations by Major Kettoe and Mr. Thomas resulted in the removal of the whole of the inner mass and the exposition of the outer casing. The inner diameter, according to Mr. Thomas, is 49 feet 6 inches. A careful examination of the remains of the monument by Cunningham establishes that in its original state it was an ancient hemispherical *stupa*, 49 feet in diameter at base, and about 35 or 40 feet in height, including the usual pinnacle.[2] All these lead Mr. Cunningham to think that the inner hemisphere was an ancient relic *stupa*, and that this having become ruinous, it was repaired, and an outer casing added by the brothers Sthera Pala and Vasanta Pala in A.D. 1026.

At a distance of 2500 feet due south from the great tower of *Dhamek*, there lies a lofty ruined mound of solid brick work, surrounded by a octagonal building. This mound is known as *Chaukhandi*. The mound is 74 feet in height to the floor of the octagonal building which rises 23 feet 8 inches higher, making a total height of 97 feet and 8 inches.

In 1835, Cunningham opened this mound by sinking a well from the floor of the building right down to the plain earth beneath the foundation. Later, he widened the well until it was nearly 20 feet in diameter and stopped further operations at a depth of 27 feet. The absence of any relic chamber shows that this was not a relic chamber.

Hiuen T'sang places, a *stupa* at 2 or 3 li to the south-west of the Deer Park Monastry which, according to this statement, was no

1. *Arch. Sur. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 114.
2. Ibid., p. 116.

less than 300 feet in height.[1] He describes the monument as sparkled with the rarest and most precious materials but was not ornamented with rows of niches, neither had it the usual bell-shaped cupola, but its summit was crowned with a sort of religious vase, turned upside down, on the top of which was an arrow.

In course of his excavations, Cunningham also discovered a square floor of 13 feet 9 inches, looking like the edge of a small tank which was surrounded by the basis of pillar. Among the rubbish inside the square he found an elaborately sculptured base-relief, in grey sandstone, representing the *Nirvana* of the Buddha. In the ordinary representations of the death-bed scene the spectators are confined to a few attendants holding umbrellas over the body or reverentially touching the feet. But in this particular sculpture, besides the usual attendants, there are the *Navagrahas* or "Nine Planets" in one line, and in a lower line the *Ashta Sakti* or" eight female energies", a series of goddesses apparently belonging to one of later forms of Buddhism.

Sarnath

The Buddhist remains of Varanasi, which was unqestionably a great centre of Buddhist activity, are situated nearly by due north and about 3½ miles distant from the outskirts of the city, at a place quite well-known by the name of Sarnath. This name possibly belongs to a small Brahmanical temple on the western bank of the lake, while the great tower itself is called *Dhamek*.

The etymological meaning of the word Sarnath is the "Best Lord". Here this epithet is applied to the god *Mahadeva*, whose symbol, the lingam, is enshrined in the small temple on the bank of the lake. Cunningham is, however, of the opinion that this name Sarnath is an abbreviation of *Sarangganatha*, or the, "Lord of Deer," which would also be an appropriate epithet for *Mahadeva*, who is frequently represented as holding a deer in his left hand.[2] It is important to note that the lake in front of the temple is still at times called "Sarang Tal". On this very ground

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1. Julien's Hiuen T'sang, II, p. 363.
2. *Arch. Sur. of India Rep.*, Vol. I, p. 105.

Gen. Cunningham bases his cunjecture that *Sarangga Natha* was the original word or name.

Lord Buddha, in a former existence is represented in a fable to have roamed the woods in this very spot as the king of a herd of Deer. There is, however, an interesting account, given by Hiuen T'sang[1] pointing out the reasons as to why the Buddhists had a great esteem for this place. According to his statement "The Raja of Banaras, who was fond of sport, had slaughtered so many deer that the king of the deer remonstrated with him and offered to furnish him with one deer daily throughout the year if he would give up slaughtering them for sport. The Raja consented. After sometime, when it came to the turn of a kind, big with young, to be presented to the Raja, she objected that, although it might be her turn to die, yet the turn of her little one could not yet have arrived. The key of the deer (*i.e.*, Buddha) was struck with campassion and offered himself to the Raja in place of the kind". On hearing the story the Raja exclaimed, "I am but a deer in the form of a man, but you are a man in the form of a deer". He at once gave up his claim to the daily gift, and made over the park for the perpetual use of the deer, on which account it was called the "Deer Park" (*Mrigadava*). It is curious to learn that still a antelope preserve exists in the neighbourhood of Sarnath.

Conclusion

In the foregoing pages we have studied the early history of Kasi. Rising out of obscurity as a city state and then as a powerful kingdom, Kasi occupied a deserved place in ancient literature. After the fall of Kuru-Pancalas and the states mentioned in the Vedic and post-Vedic literature, Kasi remained the most powerful state until the rise of Kosala.

The rulers of Kasi were known as Brahmadattas. The *Jatakas* refer to their struggle with Kosala for supremacy in Northern India. Inspired by their victories against Kosala, they also marched towards the South and the North. Aspirants for all India sovereignty, several monarchs led extensive campaigns and atleast one of them, Manoja, earned the title of *Aggaraja.* The early Buddhist period witnessed the rise of Kosala, which ultimately replaced Kasi as a mighty power; and thence onward, Kasi became an integral part of the Kosala Kingdom under Mahakosala and his son Pasenadi.

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[1] Julien's Hiuen T'sang, II, p. 361.

Kasi was famous stronghold of the Brahmanical Order. Her importance was much more enhanced when Buddha gave birth to a new Religious Order at Isipatana in the vicinity of the metropolitan city. As a centre of learning Kasi was far renowned.

Kasi's prosperity attracts the attention of her neighbours. Frequent mention is made of *carvans* leaving Kasi for purposes of trade. One highway went through Kasi to Rajagaha and another to Savatthi. Kasi was famed for her perfumes, silk and Kasi robes were most highly esteemed as gifts.

Kasi, thus, as we have seen, acquired a unique position early in India's annals— a position she still enjoys in the realm of intellectual and spritual attainments.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

A NOTE ON THE BRAHMADATTAS OF KASI

KASI finds a significant place as a political division in Northern India shortly before the time of the Buddha. It was undoubtedly an independent kingdom before the rise of Buddhism, and as such, finds mention in no less than four places in the *Anguttara-Nikaya* in the list of the *Solasa Maha-Janapada, i.e.*, the sixteen Great Countries. The fact, that Kasi and Kosala are frequently mentioned in the *Jatakas* only in the introductions to them and never in the stories themselves draw our attention towards the study of their political history and the dynasties that ruled and governed their destiny. It is almost certain that early in the sixth century B.C. Indian territories which were perfectly colonised by the Aryans at that time, were split up into numerous independent but tiny states, which, according to the *Puranas* were ruled by the kings of different dynasties, such as Aiksvakavas or kings of Kosala, Pancalas, Kasyas, Asmakas, Kurus, Maithilas and so forth.[1] However, the most important of these tiny dynasties was that of Brahmadatta reigning at Baranasi and ruling over-Kasi-rattha. In the *Jatakas*, we hear of many Brahmadattas who are impossible to be identified, "and are more often than not useless for historical purpose".[2] Thus, in the *Jatakas* every prince who was heir—apparent to the throne of Baranasi has been styled Brahmadatta-Kumara. The *Matsya-Purana*[3] also refers to a dynasty consisting of one hundred Brahmadattas.

The *Jatakas*,[4] which are the primary source of information regarding the history of this kingdom, mention no less than six

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1. Pargiter, pp. 23-4.
2. Bhandarkar, p. 56.
3. *Anandasrama Sanskrit Series*, Poona, p. 556, Vol. 72.
4. Fausboll, IV, pp. 458.13; III, p. 97.23; I, p. 262.8; V. p. 354.6; II, p. 345.19; IV, pp. 102-22 and 25.

kings of Baranasi, besides Brahmadatta. They are Uggasena, Dhananjaya, Mahasilava, Samyama, Vissasena and Udayabhadda. In the *Puranas,*[1] Brahmadatta is represented to have been followed in succession by Yogasena, Visvaksena, Udakasena and Bhallata.

The tradition of the Brahmadattas seems to be very popular and of early antiquity as well. In the *Jataka Commentary* this is given as the name of numerous kings of Banaras. In most cases the *Jatakas* reveal nothing more of them than that they reigned at Banaras at the time of the incidents related in the story. There is every reason to believe that Brahmadatta was possibly the dynastic name of the kings of Banaras. In the *Gangamala Jataka,*[2] Udaya, king of Banaras, is, for example, addressed as Brahmadatta. Similarly, in the *Gandatindu Jataka,*[3] Pancala, King of Uttarapancala, is also called Brahmadatta; though, in this case, it was evidently his personal name. Another instance of the general popularity of the epithet, 'Brahmadatta', is to be met within the *Dipavamsa*[4] and the *Mahavamsa Tika,*[5] where Brahmaddatta is represented as the head of a dynasty of thirty-six kings, all of whom ruled at Matthipura. His ancestors ruled at Kapilanagara. It may, however, be recalled here that there are atleast fourteen references to Brahmadatta-Kumaras in the *Jataka* stories. All of them individually correspond to the son of Brahmadatta, king of Banaras.[6] It is, therefore, quite reasonable to suggest that "many of the princes belonging to these groups had the cognomen, 'Brahmadatta'. That Brahmadatta was not the name of one individual ruler, has been suggested by Mr. Haritkrishna Deo. This suggestion has been accepted by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar.[7] The domination of Kasi by several monarchs belonging to more than one dynasty is of considerable importance for the political history of that kingdom. In the *Jatakas* there are frequent references to the absence of successors at Banaras (*apputtakam rajakulam*), or the deposition of princes in favour of more competent rulers taken from other families. This is the reason why the Kasi monarchs are not regarded by tradition as belonging to one and the same dynasty. For example, some of the kings hailed from Magadha;[1] several others were probably of Videhan origin. Besides, there are references to a group of one hundred Brahmadattas in the *Matsya* and *Vayu Puranas*.[2] The *Mahabharata* also mentions a group of a "hundred" Brahmadattas.[3] In the *Jatakas*, the name is borne both by the reigning king and his son (Kumara).[4] The reference to King Udaya of Banaras in the *Gangamala Jataka* being addressed by a Pacceka Buddha as "Brahmadatta" shows that it is a *Kulanama* or family designation.

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[1] *Vayu* P., p. 376, Vs. 180-2; *Vishnu* P. Pt, IV, Ch. 19.

[2] Fausboll, III, p. 452.

[3] Ibid., p. 444.

[4] Ibid., p. 18.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., I, pp. 259ff; II, pp. 2ff; 229ff, 277ff; III, pp. 158ff, 391ff, 407ff, 514ff; IV. pp. 315ff; V. pp. 263ff, 457ff; VI, pp. 159ff.

[7] C.L. 1918, p. 56.

The problem that remains to be solved is whether the Brahmadattas were all of the same extraction? The data available would suggest that they were not. In the *Darimukha Jataka*, the King-elect was originally a Magadhan prince. Some of the other Brahmadattas were of Videhan lineage. The *Matiposaka Jataka*,[5] for instance, referring to a Brahmadatta of Kasi, has the following line :

muttomhi Kasirajana Vedehana Yasassina ti.

Similarly, in the *Sambula Jataka*[6] prince Sotthisena, son of Brahmadatta, king of Kasi, is called *Vedehaputta*.

Ajatasatru, who was a contemporary of Janaka on the throne of Kasi, may have been a Brahmadatta, though his exact lineage is not known.[7] The *Upanisadic* evidence shows that he was a contemporary of Uddalaka. According to the *Uddalaka Jataka*, the reigning king of Banaras in the time of Uddalaka was Brahmadatta.[8] It thus seems that 'Brahmadatta' was a title frequently used with pride, particularly by the rulers of Kasi. It should not be taken to represent any definite dynasty or family to which these rulers belonged. Kings with this designation also figure as rulers of other kingdoms. It is well-known to us that about the middle of the sixth century B.C. Bimbisara Srenika, the crown-prince of Magadha, is said to have killed Brahmadatta of Anga and captured Campa, where he resided as his father's Viceroy.[1] In the *Mahagovinda Suttanta*, Brahmadatta is mentioned as the king of the Assakas, and as a contemporary of King Sattabhu of Kalingas, Vessabhu of Avanti, Bharata Sovira, Renu of Videha, Dhatarattha of Anga and Dhatarattha of Kasi.[2]

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[1] Cf. J. Nos. 378, 401, 529.

[2] *Matsya*, *P*. Ch. 273, p. 71; *Vayu*, P., Ch. 99, p. 454.

[3] II. 8.23.

[4] Cowell (*Susima J.*), No. 411, (*Kumma Sapinda J.*), No. 415, (*Addhana J.*), No. 425, (*Lomas Kessapa J.*), No. 433, etc.

[5] Cowell, No. 455.

[6] Ibid., No. 519.

[7] *P.H.A.I.* pp. 76-77.

[8] Ibid., p. 77.

In the *Maha-Ummagga Jataka*,[3] the *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*,[4] the *Savapna-vasavadatta*[5] and the *Ramayana*,[6] we hear of king named Culani Brahmadatta who was a great Pancala ruler. The *Jataka* tells us that Kevatta, the minister of Brahmadatta, formed a plan for making Culani the chief king of all India. In the story, the king himself is represented as having laid siege to Mithila. The *Uttaradhyayana* represents him as universal monarch. These accounts are so full of myths that one can hardly place any reliance upon them and the historicity of these events. The relevant point to be noted here is that the epithet Brahmadatta was so dear that even in the 5th century A.D. we hear of a Viceroy of Buddha Gupta whose name was Brahmadatta.[7]

Apart from the facts noted above regarding the Brahmadattas, one cannot fail to mention here the traditional accounts of the exploits of the Brahmadattas of Kasi. Before the final absorption of Kasi into the fold of the Kosalan Kingdom in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., she figures as a powerful and aggressive State. In the *Mahavagga*[1] and the *Kosambs Jatakas*[2] we are told that Brahmadatta, king of Kasi, robded Dighati of Kosala of his realm and put him to death. A similar account is also found in the *Vinaya Pitaka*[3] and *Dhammapadatthakatha*.[4] In the *Sutta Nipata Commentary*,[4] we hear of Brahmadatta, son of the king of Banaras, ruling over twenty thousand cities with Banaras as the capital. The statement is doubtless exaggerated, but nevertheless indicative of the wide extent of the Kasi kingdom.

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[1] Hardy, p. 163 n. (Account based on the Tibetan Dulva) *J.A.S.B.* 1914; p. 321.

[2] Dial., Part II, p. 27.

[3] Cowell, No. 546.

[4] *S.B.E.*, XLV, 57-61.

[5] Act. V.

[6] Ibid., 32.

[7] See Paharpur Plate of A.D. 478-79 (Mod. Rev. 1931, 150, Ep. Ind. XX. pp. 59 ff)..

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1. *S.B.E.* XVII, pp. 294-99.
2. Cowell, No. 428.
3. I. 342 ff.
4. I. 56f. also No. 536.
5. I. 58 fl.

APPENDIX II

Hiuen T'sang Account of Varanasi

VARANASI or Banaras is the same as P'o-Lo-Nc-Sse, of Hiuen T'sang. He describes this country as 4000 li in circuit and its capital about 18 or 19 li in length and 5 or 6 li in breadth. The city seemes to have been fortified all-around, for, he refers to its inner gates which look like small toothed comb.

According to the Chinese Traveller, the city was densely populated and the families were very rich. He also notices objects of rare value in the dwellings of the people which suggests to the economic prosperity of Baranasi in ancient times.

Varanasi was also a seat of learning. Hiuen T'sang noticed in people an earnest desire to study and acquire learning.

People, according to him, were mostly unbelievers and only a few worshipped the law of Buddha. He also noticed about thirty *Sangharamas* and 3000 Priests who were devoted to the study of the 'Little Vehicle' according to the Sanimatiya School.

Varanasi had a large followers of Brahmanical Cult. There were about a hundred deva temples with about 10,000 sectaries. It was the stronghold of Saivism, for the majority of people principally honoured *Mahesvara*. Hiuen T'sang gives a vivid account of the devout worshipers of different faiths, particularly of the wandering ascetics, some keeping knotted hair, others with bald head, moving naked, without any covering on their bodies. These possibly refer to the hereditical order who were known as *Nirgranthas*. These sectaries sprinkled ashes upon their persons probably because they were the adherents of *Pasupata* Faith.[1]

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[1] S. Beal, *Buddhist Record of Western World*, Vol. II, Book VII, pp. 44-45. 188-2/5.

According to the statement of Hiuen T'sang, there were twenty Deva temples in the capital city at the time of his visit. The towers and halls of these temples were decorated with sculptured stones and carved wood. These temples were probably situated near the river because, according to his statement, pure streams of water encircled them.

There was a big statue of the God *Mahesvara* which was made of copper. The statue was about 100 feet high with a grave and majestic appearance looking like a living object.

To the north-east of the capital, on the western side of the river Varna, Hiuen T'sang noticed a *Stupa* built by Asoka. Its height is given as 100 feet. He also saw a stone pillar standing just in front of this *stupa* which was as bright and shining as a mirror. He compares the smoothness of its surface with that of ice upon which reflected the figure of the Buddha.

To the north-east of the river Varna, about 10 li, the Chinese Traveller noticed the *Sangharama* of the Deer Park or *Mrigadava* whose precinets were divided into eight sections, connected by a surrounding wall. It was probably a very big religious establishment where about fifteen hundred priests used to study the 'Little Vehicle' according to the Sammatiya School. There was also a *vihara* about 200 feet high in this enclosure. The foundations of the building were laid out of stone and its towers and niches were of brick-work. In the middle of the *Vihara* there was a life-size copper statue of Buddha representing as 'turning the wheel of the law'.

Hiuen T'sang also noticed another *stupa* built by Asoka to the south-west of the Great Monastery, showing signs of decay. There he also noticed a stone pillar about 70 feet high. The appearance of this pillar is just like that already referred to. This place, according to him, marks the site where *Tathagata* after the enlightenment 'turned the wheel of law'.

In addition to these *Stupas*, Pillars and Monasteries, the Chinese Traveller Hiuen T'sang, mentions a number of *stupas* associated with the Buddha or the Buddhist creed. Thus a *stupa* marks the spot where Ajanta Kaundinya and the rest seeing Bodhisattva giving up his austerities no longer kept his company, but coming to his place gave themselves up to meditation. This incidence refers to the five ascetics who had accompanied the Bodhisattva to Uravilva and left him there seeing him accepting the food given by a lady Sujata and came to the Deer Park at Banaras. Another *Stupa* marks the spot where the five hundred Pratyepa Buddhas entered at the same time into *Nirvana*. Other three *stupas* bear the traces of the sitting and walking of the three former Buddhas. Another *stupa* corresponds to that site where Maitraya Buddhisattva received an assurance of his becoming a Buddha. Another *stupa* marks that spot where Sakya Bodhisattva received an assurance of becoming a Buddha. Besides, the Traveller mentioned many sacred vestiges, with *Viharas* and *stupas*, several hundreds in number, all situated within the precinects of the enclosure.

Other facts of any historic value mentioned by Hiuen T'sang are not of any great importance. Like *stupas*, he has mentioned many lakes or tanks which were associated with the Buddha, as, according to him, the Buddha bathed in one lake, washed his begging-dish in another tank; washed his robes in the next and in another washed his garments.

This court-yard was the centre of a large building, 68 feet square of which the outer walls were 4½ feet thick. The central square was apparently surrounded by an open verandah, which gave access to ranges of five small cells on each of the four sides of the building. In these cells were found pieces of charred wood, with nails still sticking in some of them. On the north side of the central room there was a room entirely open towards the verandah, as it was a hall, or place of general meeting for the resident monks.

There was the base or pedestal inside this room which was possibly a small rotten *stupa*, the top of which probably reached to the roof and took the place of a pillar.[1] A small drain led underground from the north-west corner of the central square to the outside of the building on the north, for the purpose of carrying off the rain-water.

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[1] *Ar. Sur. Ind. I*, Cunningham, p. 121.

This building has been identified by Cunningham with a *Vihara* with a chapel forming an integral part of the building. The thickness of the outer wall suggests that the building must have been not less than three or four storeyes in height and thus accommodating about 50 monks. The entrance was possibly on the south side where must have been a statue of Buddha in the northern verandah.

Cunningham also discovered another remains of a building of a totally different description. Its walls were 3 feet thick throughout, still bearing patches of plaster on the inner walls of the verandahs with borders of painted flowers, quite fresh and vivid. The building consisted of a square of 34 feet, wlth a small porch on each of the four sides. The building was divided into three parts from west to east. The walls of the two long rooms or verandahs to the north and south were covered with statues and bas-reliefs. Outside the walls were found about 50 or 60 large deeply carved stones which had once formed part of a magnificent frieze, with a bold projecting cornice. The face of the frieze was ornamented with small figures of Buddha seated at intervals in peculiar shaped niches.

Just a few feet to the north of this temple, Cunningham discovered a small room where he found at a depth of 2 feet below the surface about 60 statues and bas-reliefs in an upright position, all packed closely together within a small space of less than 10 feet square. The walls of the room were already removed, but foundations still exist which are only 11 feet square outside. These bas-reliefs mostly represent the four great events in the career of Sakya Muni. Due to the too close situation of this room with the temple, Cunningham was inclined to suggest that these sculptures belong to the temple and they were secreted in this place during a time of persecution, when the monks were obliged to abondon their monasteries and take refuge in Nepal.[1] He further supports his contention by the fact that he found no statues within the walls of the temples itself.

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[1] Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep.* I, p. 123.

Further excavations by Major Kitto, Mr. E. Thomas and Professor Fitz Edwarded Mall have thrown considerable light on the ancient monastery at Sarnath. Mr. Thomas calls it an "old Buddhist Monastery".[1] According to Hiuen T'sang there were no less than 30 monasteries about the Deer Park at Benaras, which together contained 3000 monks, or an average of 100 monks each. This ancient monastery contains no less than 28 seperate apartments. Cunningham, judging from the thickness of the walls, is of the opinion that the building could not have been less than 3 or 4 storeyes in height, which would have contained 104 cells, and, therefore, may possibly have been one of the 30 monasteries noted by Hiuen T'sang.

The grand plan of the monasteries shows a central count 50 feet square surrounded by pillars which must have supported an open verandah in front of the four ranges of cells. In the north-east corner of the court-yard, there is an old well, 4 feet 10 inches in diameter and 37 feet deep. As this well is placed on one side, there might have been a *stupa* or a statue in the middle of the court-yard. On the outside the building is 107 feet square. In the centre room on the north side, which is 18 feet in length, there are two large stones placed against the walls as if intended for the reception of statues. This room is believed to be the Shrine of the monastery. The common cells are 8½ feet by 8 feet, each has a separate door.

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[1] Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep. I*, p. 127.

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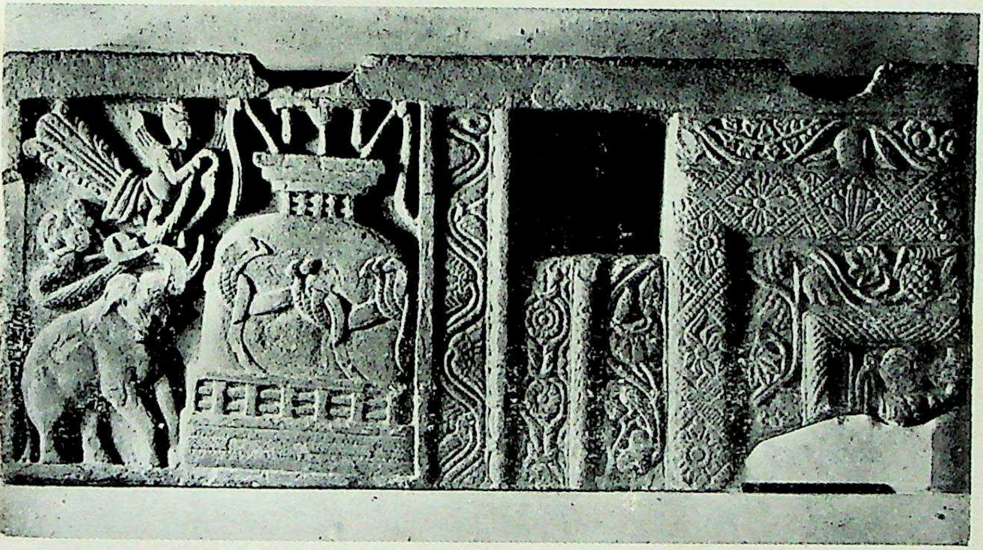
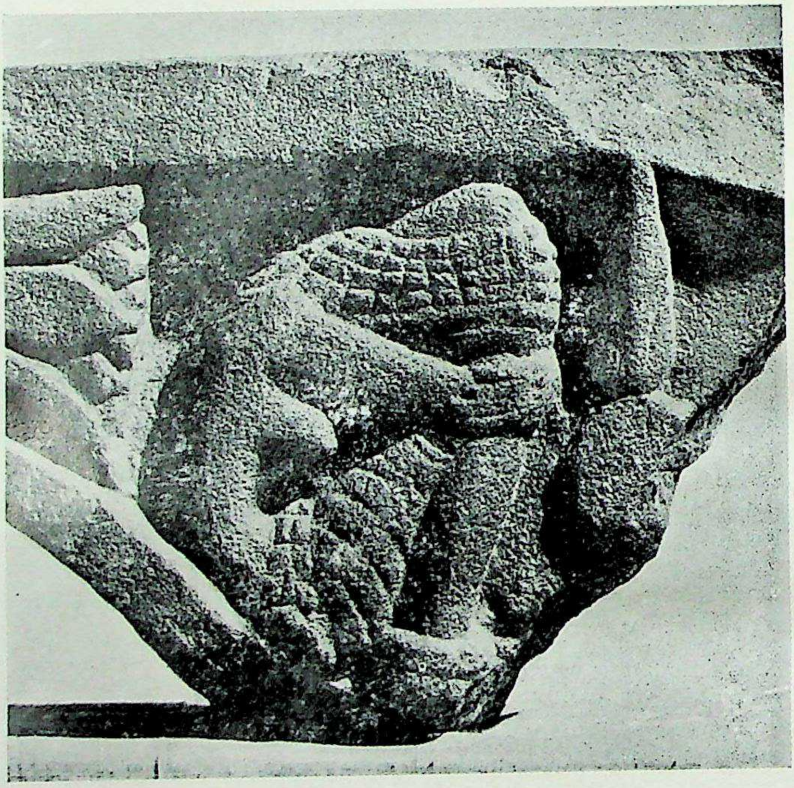
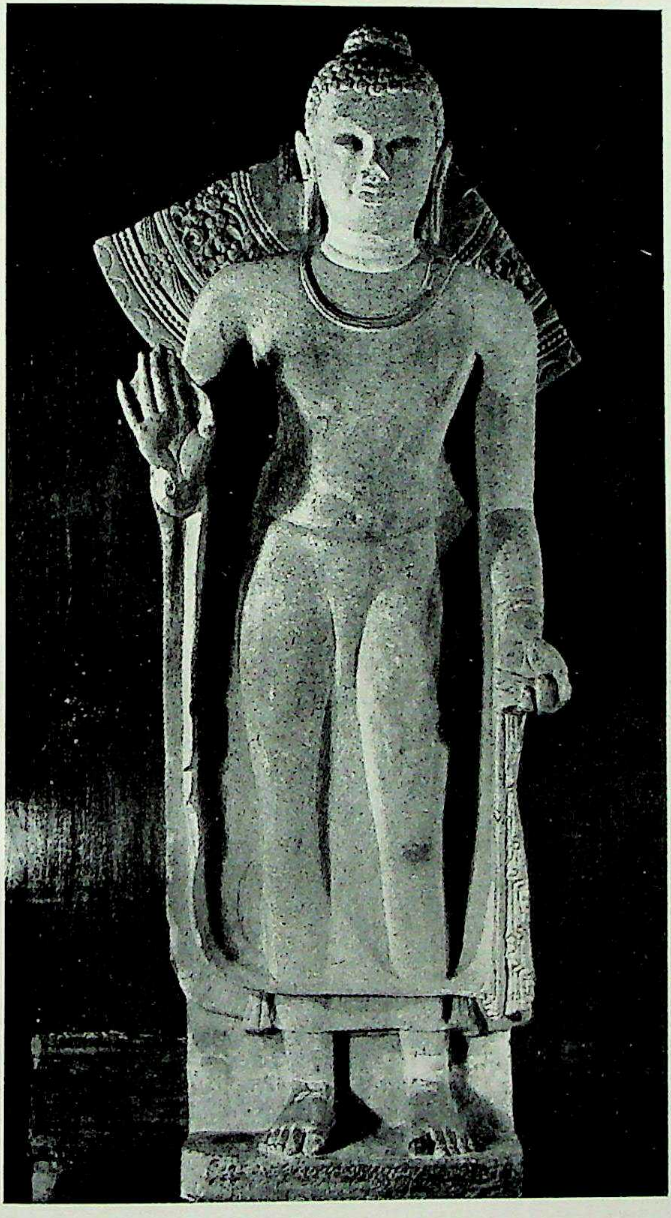


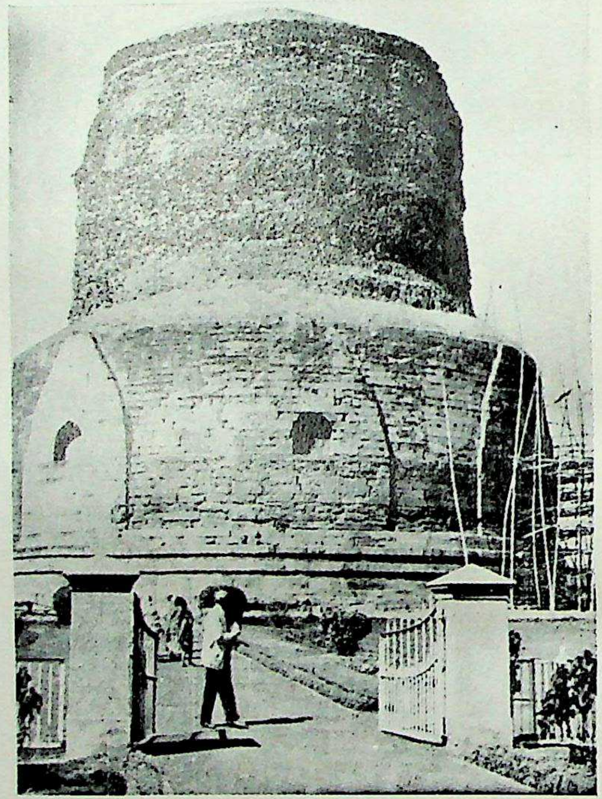
I. Worship of the Stupa of Ramagrama.
Sunga Dynasty, Ist Cent. B.C., Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh.
(Courtesy : Archaeological Museum, Sarnath).



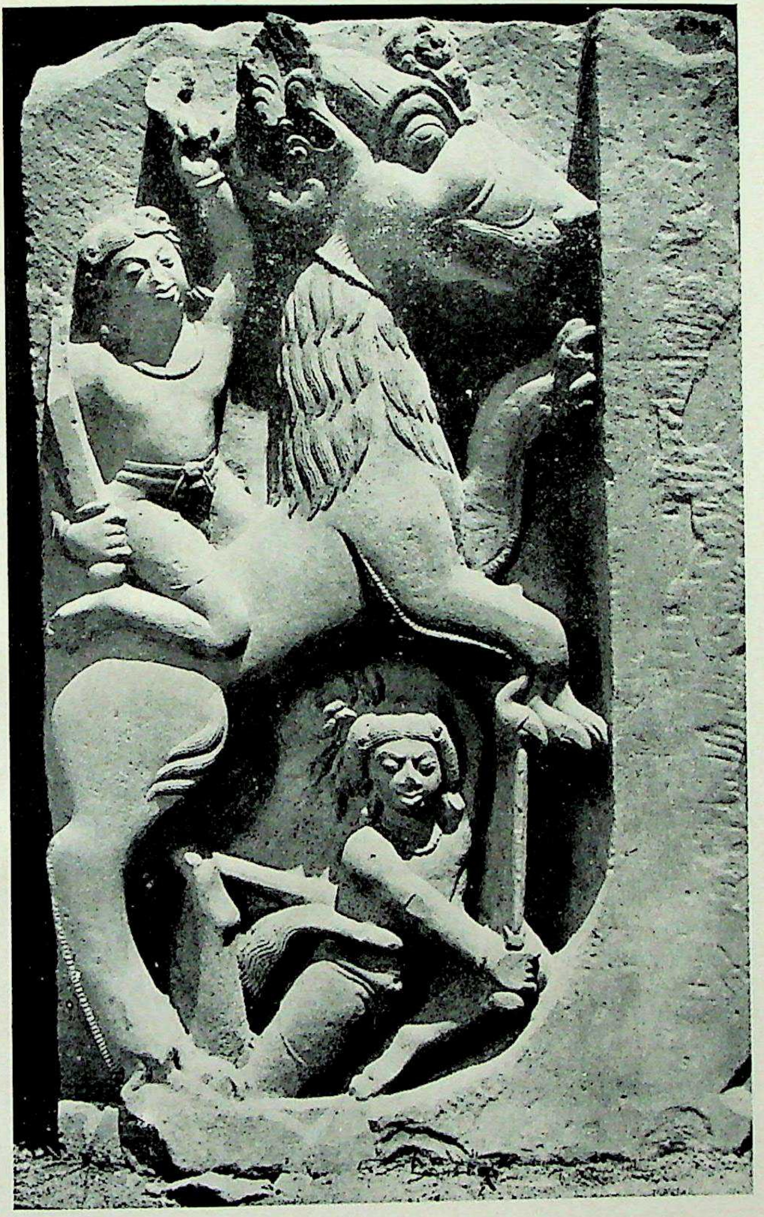
II. Lady seated in grief. A lamps, indicating night scene, is burning before her.
Sunga Dynasty, Ist Cent. B.C., Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh.
(Courtesy : National Museum, New Delhi).



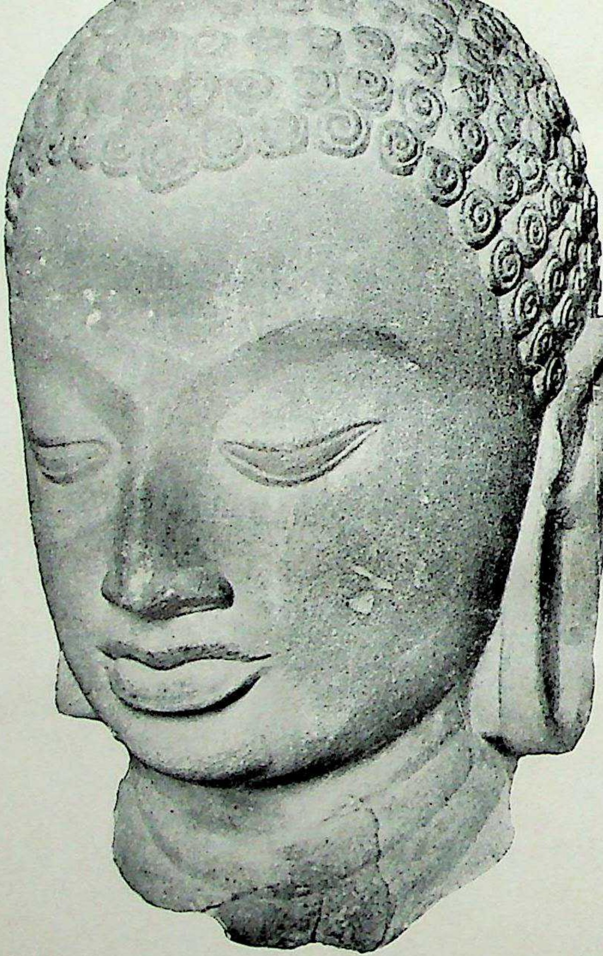
III. Buddha in abhayamudra.
Gupta Period, 5th Cent. A.D., Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh.
(Courtesy : Archaeological·Museum, Sarnath).



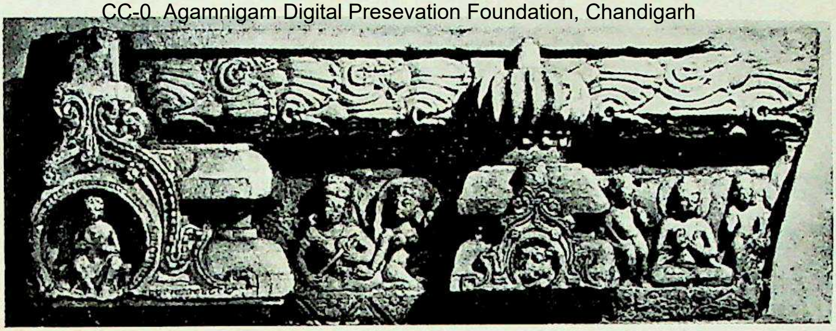
IV. Dhamekh Stupa.
Gupta Period, 5th Cent. A.D., Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh.
(Courtesy : V.P. Dwivedi).



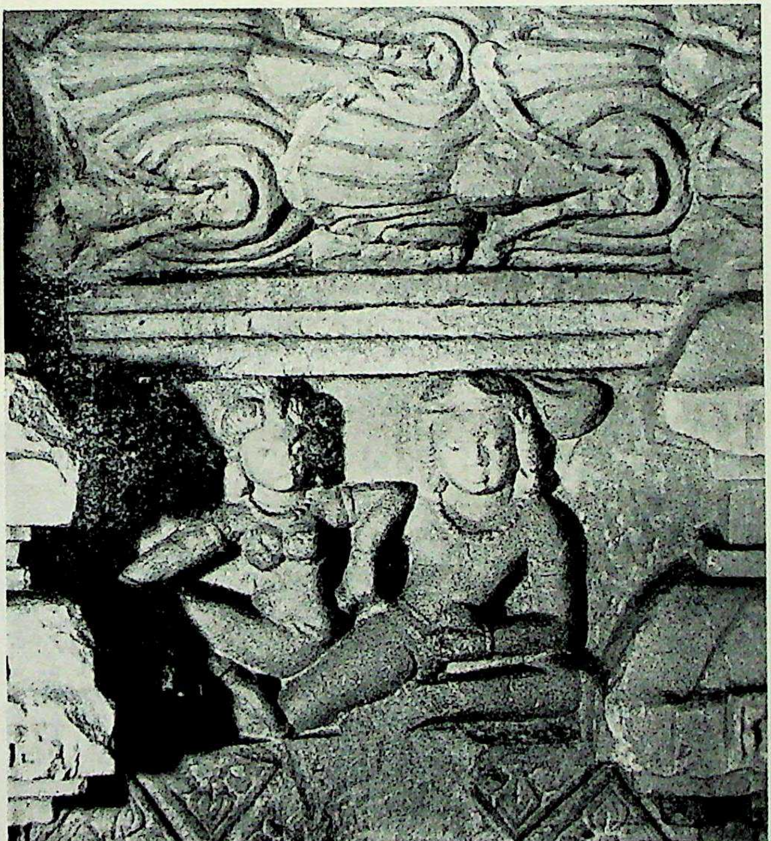
V. Warrior mounted on a Leograph.
Gupta Period, 5th Cent. A.D., Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh.
(Courtesy : National Museum, N. Delhi).

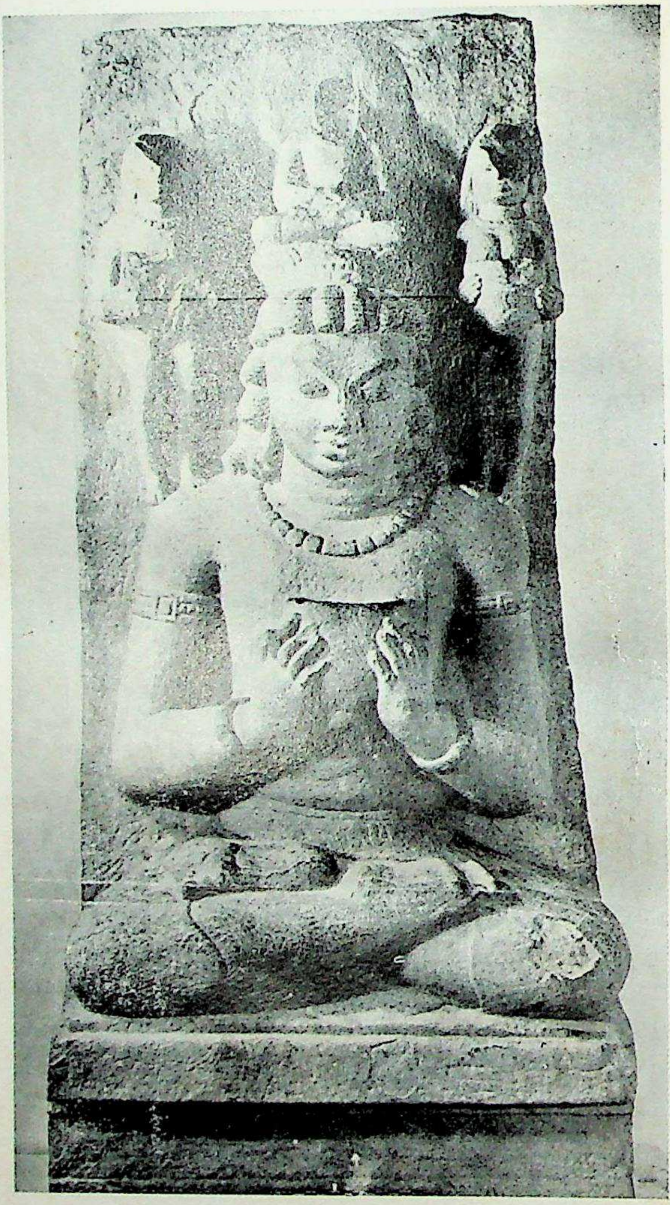


VI. Buddha Head.
Gupta Period, 5th Cent. A.D. Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh.
(Courtesy : National Museum, N. Delhi).



VII&VIII. Fragments of a lintal showing flying Gandharvas, seated Buddha, etc.
Gupta Period, 6th Cent. A.D., Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh.
(Courtesy : Archaeological Museum, Sarnath).





IX. Nilakantha Avaloketeshvara, Dhyani Buddha Amitabha seated over this head. Pala Dynasty, 8th. Cent. A.D., Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh.
(Courtesy : Archaeological Museum, Sarnath).

SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN DELHI